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Progress of Greater Indian Research

(1917-42)

**[Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Burma,
Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra,
Malay and Ceylon]**

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**Published by the Greater India Society
CALCUTTA.**

1943.

**Printed and published by J. C. Sarkhel, at the Calcutta Oriental
Press, Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.**

To
THE SAVANTS OF ALL NATIONS

Whose brilliant and disinterested labours
in the cause of Greater Indian Research
have added a glorious chapter to the history of

ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILISATION

This volume is dedicated
As a token of profound respect and admiration.

PREFACE

From early times a shallow generalization has often drawn the picture of India as standing aloof from the currents of the world's history. This view seems to find its support in the remarkable physical features of the land and not less, in the unique type of its civilization. With its frontiers girt round by impassable mountains and forests as well as the circling seas, nature herself appears to have doomed India to a life of splendid isolation. India's remarkable institution of caste as well as its distinctive systems of religion and philosophy would seem further to have formed an insurmountable barrier between its people and those of the outside world. And yet at the present moment it is but a historical truism to assert that never in all the centuries of its past existence our country has ceased to maintain active contact by land as well as by sea with countries and peoples beyond its frontiers. This contact, it must further be noted, was not confined to the exchange of material goods, but extended also to the domain of ideas.

In this grand and ceaseless process of contact with neighbouring lands, India's role has not been that of a mere passive recipient. More and more the unimpeachable evidence of history is proving the profound influence exercised by her all-pervasive culture upon outside lands, specially those of South-Eastern and Eastern Asia. Thus Sir John Marshall, who cannot certainly be accused of exaggerating Indian influence, after referring in a recent pronouncement to 'the amazingly vital and flexible character of Indian Art' and the common capacity of Indian and Greek Art 'to adapt themselves to suit the needs of every country, race and religion with which they came into contact', writes as follows :—"To know Indian Art in India alone, is to know but half its story. To apprehend it to the

full, we must follow it in the wake of Buddhism, to Central Asia, China and Japan; we must watch it assuming new forms and breaking into new beauties as it spreads over Tibet and Burma and Siam; we must gaze in awe at the unexampled grandeur of its creations in Cambodia and Java. In each of these countries, Indian Art encounters a different racial genius, a different local environment, and under their modifying influence it takes on a different garb'. (Foreword to Reginald Le May, *Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938). What is true of art, is true of other branches of civilization as well. As a brilliant French writer has recently observed:—'In the high plateau of Eastern Iran, in the oases of Serindia, in the arid wastes of Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria, in the ancient civilised lands of China and Japan, in the lands of the primitive Mons and Khmers and other tribes in Indo-China, in the countries of the Malayo-Polynesians, in Indonesia and Malay, India left the indelible impress of her high culture not only upon religion, but also upon art and literature, in a word, all the higher things of the spirit' (Réné Grousset, *The Civilisations of the East*, vol. II, p. 276). Out of this amazing expansion of India's unique culture there rose and flourished in the first millennium of the Christian era, to quote the authoritative words of the French author just mentioned, 'a Greater India politically as little organised as Greater Greece, but morally equally homogeneous'. But as Greater India has excelled in extent and duration its Greek counterpart, so much has the recovery of its lost history cost greater scholarly effort and enterprise. This process of rediscovery of Greater India, slow and fitful at the beginning, has taken larger and larger strides with the march of time. In the following pages an attempt is made to trace the extraordinary advance which Greater Indian research has achieved during the last quarter of a century. This achievement, it will be seen, has been largely secured by the organization of expedition and research under the auspices of the various advanced Governments of the modern

world. Next to the Governments, the learned Societies of various lands have co-operated in unearthing and interpreting the records of the past history of Greater India.

The cumulative labours of a host of explorers, archaeologists, art-critics and historians of various lands, gathering in momentum during the last quarter of a century, have added a new and glorious chapter to the history of our country. In the teeth of blind ignorance and narrow prejudice, they have definitely established India's claim to rank among the great civilising nations of the world. To quote the pertinent remarks of Sir Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. xii):—'Scant justice is done to India's position in the world by those histories which recount the exploits of her invaders and leave the impression that her own people were a feeble dreamy folk, sundered from the rest of mankind by their sea and mountain frontiers. Such a picture takes no account of the intellectual conquests of the Hindus. Even their political conquests were not contemptible and are remarkable for the distance, if not the extent, of the territories occupied.....But such military or commercial invasions are insignificant compared with the spread of Indian thought.' As the eminent French savant Sylvain Lévi writes (*Abel Bergaigne et l'Indianisme* in *Revue Blue*, tome 45, 1890, tr. by Kalidas Nag in *Modern Review*, Dec. 1921):—'From Persia to the Chinese Sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her tales and her civilization. She has left indelible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her place amongst the great nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity.' How the discovery of this grand truth is reacting in the minds of India's greatest sons is best expressed in the pregnant words of Rabindranath Tagore (*Foreword* to

JGIS., vol. I, No. 1, January 1934):—"To know my country in truth one has to travel to that age, when she realised her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illumined the Eastern horizon, making her recognised as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a surprise of life ; and not now when she has withdrawn herself within a narrow barrier of obscurity, into a miserly pride of exclusiveness, into a poverty of mind that dumbly revolves around itself in an unmeaning repetition of a part that has lost its light and has no message to the pilgrims of the future." It is to be earnestly hoped that the amazingly rich record of progress in the rediscovery of Greater India, that is revealed in these pages, will usher in a period of active research carried out by her own sons in a field they have sadly neglected so far.

The body of this work was published in the Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, and simultaneously (with the kind permission of the Institute in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. IX, No. 2). To this the author has added in the present work the Preface and Analytical Table of Contents together with the Additions and Corrections, the three Appendices and the Index. A supplementary volume chronicling the progress of Greater Indian research relating to China, Japan and Korea for the corresponding period is expected to be published in the near future.

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Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last twenty-five years (1917-42)

AFGHANISTAN

The systematic investigation of the ancient sites in Afghanistan dates only from 1922, when, thanks to the initiative of Prof. A. Foucher, France acquired from the Afghan Government a thirty years' monopoly for archaeological exploration in the country. The opportunity thus presented in a land, to which access had for some long time been barred with seven seals, was eagerly utilised by a brilliant band of French scholars who gave to the world the results of their wonderful discoveries in a series of magnificent volumes (in French) called *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan*. These works have revealed to us numerous traces of great schools of art—of sculptures in stucco and clay and of mural paintings—of the 3rd-4th to the 7th-8th centuries, to which have been given as indicative of their complex composition, the designations of “*Graeco-Buddhist*” and “*Irano-Buddhist*” art. Fragmentary as they often are, these objects of art represent fresh and vigorous offshoots of the decadent school of Gandhāra and form in their turn, as has been well said, “an ante-chamber to the art of Central Asia” (René Grousset). For it was there that grew up those schools which were destined to attain their full development at Khotan, Kucha, Turfan and other famous Central Asian centres. We can only find time to describe in the present place some of the more important discoveries that have rewarded the labours of the French archaeologists. On the

site of Haḍḍa (known as Hi-lo by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and reputed to contain a collar-bone and a tooth of Buddha), J. J. Barthoux discovered between 1925 and 1928 the remains of a vast ancient city with hundreds of *stūpas* and thousands of stucco sculptures. The results thus obtained were given out in two elaborate volumes (*Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*; tome III, *Figures et figurines*, Paris 1930; *Ibid.*, tome I, *Stūpas et sites*, Paris, 1933). The former contains reproductions with short descriptions of 478 sculptures, mainly all heads, in stucco representing figures of Buddhas, demons and warriors, which were found among the ruins of the 531 *stūpas* excavated at Haḍḍa, while the latter gives a minute account of the methods of constructing the *stūpas* and attached buildings as well as of the structures belonging to seven different areas. It is interesting to learn that the *stūpas* exhibit a development of the depressed forms of Bharhut and Sanchi towards more elevated, slender and graceful types, as they generally consist of "a double square basement supporting two cylindrical drums which in their turn are surmounted by a third low drum and a dome." The stucco figures, comprising those of Buddhas, of deities and demi-gods and of groups of human worshippers indicate a masterly execution far surpassing the conventional and effeminate products of the Gandhāra school. Another famous site which has been examined by the French scholars is the cliff of Bāmiyān renowned from early times for its colossal Buddhas and its innumerable decayed cave shrines and monasteries. Between 1922 and 1924 this famous group of monuments was thoroughly examined by A. Godard, Mme. Y. Godard and J. Hackin. In their great work called *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, (Paris 1928), they reproduced a number of frescoes which have been rightly described as the earliest extant Buddhist paintings after those of Ajantā (Caves IX and X) and Miran. These paintings of which the earliest go back to the 5th or 6th century A.D. exhibit a strange medley of Indian, Iranian and Chinese influences. In the above-named work the

authors also described the famous colossal Buddhas and illustrated with adequate plans and designs the equally famous Buddhist caves. A new series of excavations undertaken at Bāmiyān by J. Hackin and J. Carl in 1930 led to the discovery of one of the oldest caves (dated c. 3rd century A.D.) in the vicinity of one of the colossal Buddhas. Other discoveries consisted of Sanskrit Mss. in birch-bark as well as an octagonal grotto in the adjoining cliff of Kakrak with decorative paintings indicating Iranian influences. These finds have been described with adequate illustrations in Hackin and Carl's work *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, (Paris 1933), where attention is drawn to the characteristic blending of Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic influences on this local art. The Iranian element, indeed assumed from the end of the 5th century such an important part as to justify the application of the epithet 'Irano-Buddhist' to the later art of Bāmiyān. The Sanskrit Mss. from Bāmiyān were edited (J.A., 1932) by the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi, who identified them as comprising fragments of Abhidharma texts of Mahāyāna schools, of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas and of a rare Abhidharma text of the Sarvāstivādins. While the French explorations at Haḍḍa and Bāmiyān have yielded the happiest results, discoveries of striking interest have also been made at less known sites. At the hill of Khair Khāneh, north-west of Kabul, J. Carl excavated in 1934 the remains of a most interesting temple recalling the construction of the Śivite temple of Gupta times at Bhumara in Central India. Another discovery was that of a unique Sūrya image in white marble showing distinct influences of Iranian art of the 4th century A.D. (See J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au col de Khair Khaneh près de Kābul*, Paris 1936; also J. Hackin, *Explorations of the neck of Khair Khaneh near Kābul*, J.G.I.S., Vol, III, No. 1; Jan. 1936). The excavations of J. Hackin on the ancient site of Begram (Kāpiśī of Sanskrit literature) in 1937 resulted in the discovery of a mass of

ivories with designs recalling the Mathura art of the Kushan epoch and forming in fact the only surviving samples of Indian ivory-work of that early date. (For a description of the above illustrated with plates, see J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, tome I Text, tome II Plates, Paris 1939). The very interesting excavations of the French archaeologists at Fondukistan, east of Bāmiyān, in 1937, brought to light an old (7th century) Buddhist sanctuary with its appendages. Among the most precious discoveries on this site are a number of clay modellings and mural paintings of predominantly Indian type recalling Gupta and Pala models. (See J. Hackin, *The Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan*, *J.G.I.S.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 & 2, Jan. & July, 1940).

CENTRAL ASIA

In the first seven or eight centuries of the Christian era the Chinese province of Sinkiang (or Eastern Turkestan), now almost wholly a sandy waste, was a land of smiling cities with rich sanctuaries and monasteries stocked with magnificent libraries and works of art. With a population at present predominantly Muslim in religion and Turkish in speech, it was in those days by virtue of its geographical situation the meeting-place of diverse peoples of Iranian, Indian, Turkish, Chinese, Tibetan and other speech and of diverse religions, Buddhist, Manichæan, Nestorian Christian and so forth. The chance finds, during the last decade of the 19th century, of Mss. in Sanskrit, Prakrit and 'unknown languages' together with those of antiquities displaying affinities to the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, stimulated the zeal of M.A. Stein, already famous as the editor and translator of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. A handsome subsidy of the Government of India enabled him to accomplish (1900-1901) his much-desired object of an archaeological expedition into Central Asia. The result of this mission so fully justified itself as to allow Stein with the usual subsidies of the Government of India to lead two more archaeological expedi-

tions into the country (1906-1908) and (1913-1916). The other nations were not behindhand in following Stein's example. There ensued a sort of international competition for unveiling the secrets of the lost Asiatic civilisation. A German expedition under the auspices of the Royal Museum of Ethnography in Berlin led by A. Grünwedel and E. Huth visited the sites of Turfan and Kucha (1902-1903). This was followed by the first Royal Prussian expedition (1904-1905) led by A. von Le Coq, a second one (1905-1907) under Grünwedel and Le Coq, and a third one (1913-14) under Le Coq. The German missions synchronised with a series of Russian expeditions of which the second one visited Kucha in 1906, the third discovered the ancient city of Kārākhoto in 1908, while the fourth surveyed Tun-huang in 1914. The Japanese, not to be outdone by other nations, sent two successive missions (1902-04, 1908-09) to visit Turfan, Khotan, Kucha and other sites. The French had also their share in what had become an international enterprise. A mission under Prof. Paul Pelliot visited (1906-09) Kucha, Tun-huang and other sites from which it brought back a rich spoil of Mss. and objects of art. In 1927-28 Emil Trinkler visited a part of Chinese Turkestan, discovering stucco sculptures in Gandhāra style and frescoes similar to those of Miran (See his report in *Sinica*, vol. VI, pp. 34-40). Three successive Russian expeditions led by B. Déniké into Russian Turkestan between the years 1926 and 1928 resulted in the discovery at the site of Terméz of Buddhist antiquities in the usual Gandhāra style (See A. Strelkoff, *Les monuments pre-Islamiques de Terméz* in *Artibus Asiae*, 1928-29). In recent times Renascent China has boldly asserted its claim to the fellowship of the advanced nations of the East and the West by sending its own missions of archaeological exploration to Khotan, Turfan and other sites.

The epoch-making discoveries following from the above expeditions, which can only be compared for their magnitude and interest with those of the lost civilisations of Egypt

and Babylonia, began to be made known to the world outside in the first decade of the present century. In his *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*, Stein gave a popular account of his first expedition, while a scientific description of the same was given in his great work *Ancient Khotan* (Vol. I Text, Vol. II Plates, London, 1907). Among the sites described by the daring explorer as yielding the most important Indian antiquities may be mentioned Dandan-oilik, Niya, Endere and Rawak. From these sites were obtained amid the ruins of Buddhist shrines and monasteries tempera paintings and stucco images, Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit, Khotanese and other languages on paper and other materials in varieties of the Gupta script, and wooden documents in the Indian North-West Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī script. These last related to matters of official correspondence, official and semi-official records and so forth. In the meantime Prof. Grünwedel published his valuable report on his archaeological work in the Turfan region and another volume on the old Buddhist cult-places in Chinese Turkestan (*Bericht über archæologisch arbeiten in Idyūtschari und Umgebung*, München 1906; *Alt-Buddhistischen Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan*, Berlin 1912). Shortly afterwards Le Coq published his work *Chotscho* (Berlin 1913), describing the Buddhist sculptures and mural paintings of that ancient city. These fruitful labours were cut short by the outbreak of the Great World-War in 1914. But no sooner was that tragic episode over than the work was resumed in right earnest. Stein gave a "Detailed Account" of his second Central Asian expedition (of which a "Personal Narrative" had already been published under the title *Ruins of Desert Cathay* in 1911) in his stupendous work *Serindia* in three volumes (London, 1921). The chief discoveries of Indian antiquities effected during this expedition were made at Khadalik, Niya, Endere, Lou-lan and Miran, and lastly and above all, Tun-huang on the outskirts of the Chinese province of Kan-su. From the first five sites were discovered stucco figures and wall-paintings, Sanskrit,

Prakrit, Khotanese and other Mss., documents in Kharoṣṭhī script and North-Western Prakrit on wood, paper and silk, wooden sculptures with Indian motifs. At the last-named site Stein had the good fortune of recovering from an ancient walled-up library an immense mass of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Kuchean along with several thousands of Chinese and Tibetan records dating from the 5th to the 10th centuries A.D. and several hundreds of Buddhist paintings on silk, cotton and paper. As Appendix E to the *Serindia* Raphael Petrucci and Laurence Binyon published a valuable *Essay on Buddhist paintings from the caves of the Thousand Buddhas*. The scientific account of Stein's third expedition was published in his last great work *Innermost Asia* in four volumes (Oxford, 1928). The most interesting finds of Indian antiquities and art-objects were made during this expedition at Niya and Miran, at Kārākhoto and at Murtuk in the Turfan oasis. The objects recovered consisted of Buddhist wall-paintings, Buddhist Mss. and block-prints in a variety of languages, wooden sculptures illustrating Jātaka scenes and containing figures of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities, wooden documents of a secular character in Kharoṣṭhī script and Prakrit language and so forth. In the meantime Prof. Grünwedel produced his monograph on the ruins of Kucha (*Alt-Kutscha*, Berlin 1920). The report of the expedition of the Russian Geographical Society (1907-09) containing a description of the dead city of Kārākhoto was published by Kozlov and Filchner, (Authorised German translation by L. Breitfuss and P. G. Zeidler, Berlin 1925). Of the official German expeditions a popular account was given by A. von Le Coq in his short work (in German) called *On the trail of Hellas in Eastern Turkestan* (*Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-Turkestan*, Leipzig, 1926; Eng. tr. by Anna Barwell, London, 1929). A general sketch of his discoveries was given by the same scholar in his German work called *A Picture-Atlas relating to the History of Art and Culture in Central Asia* (*Ein Bilder-Atlas zur Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte Mittel-*

Asiens (Berlin 1925). The sites mentioned by the author as yielding the most interesting Indian antiquities are Sangim, Bazaklik and Kyzil. At the first-named site was discovered an important collection of Buddhist Mss. The second which was the seat of a great Buddhist monastic establishment with hundreds of temples yielded wall-paintings of Indian monks in yellow robes (with names written in Central Asian Brāhmī) and those of East Asiatic monks in violet robes (with names written in Chinese and Tibetan). The last site yielded sculptures and paintings which were also Indo-Iranian in character besides Mss. in early Indian scripts. A full account of the results obtained by the Japanese expeditions to Central Asia and other lands during the years 1902-04, 1908-09, and 1910-14 under the auspices of Count Kozai Otani has been published (in Japanese) by Y. Uehara, 2 Vols. Tokyo, 1937.

During the last two decades the wonderful records of the lost civilisation of Central Asia, which have been the spoils of the international enterprises above described, have been systematically investigated by a host of scholars. We shall speak first of the objects of art which have been recovered from the various sites. The sculptures, miniatures, wall-paintings and images that were acquired by the Royal Prussian Expeditions have been brilliantly reproduced with adequate short descriptions by Prof. Le Coq in a series of volumes bearing the title *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* (Berlin, 1922-24). The title *Late Antique* is explained by the fact that the author held the art-objects to be based on a late phase of the ancient Greek art. Of this work it has been rightly said that it ranks among the finest productions of modern German colour-process and photo-lithography. It consists of seven Parts bearing (in English) the titles I The Plastic, II The Manichaean miniatures, III The Wall-paintings, IV The Atlas of wall-paintings, V, VI & VII New Sculptures. To the last part E. Waldschmidt has added an Essay on the style of the wall-paintings from Kyzil, identifying nearly 80 Jātakas and

Avadānas and noticing the mingling of Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic elements in the composition. Of equal interest with the above is the publication of the art-objects recovered from the world-famed "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" at Tun-huang by the Pelliot and Stein expeditions, in a series of magnificent volumes. Prof. Pelliot published in six Parts a portfolio of three hundred and seventy-six Plates illustrating his collection of Buddhist paintings and sculptures from the 182 caves of the monument (P. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen Houang; Peintures et sculptures Bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Song*, tomes 1-3, Paris, 1920; tomes 4-5, Paris, 1921; tome 6, Paris 1924). The paintings on silk and linen banners from the Stein collection were similarly reproduced in the work *The Thousand Buddhas; Ancient Buddhist paintings from the cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western frontier of China recovered and described by Sir Aurel Stein. Introductory essay by L. Binyon. Descriptive text by A. Stein*, London 1921. A catalogue of five-hundred and fifty-four paintings of the Stein collection (of which two hundred and eighty-two are preserved in the British Museum and the rest in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at Delhi) was published by A. Waley in 1931. It contains, along with general notices of the iconography and styles of the paintings, minute descriptions of the individual pieces. Useful catalogues of the Stein collection of wall-paintings have since been published by F. H. Andrews (Delhi, 1933 and 1935). Of these wall-paintings it may be said that while they were all Buddhistic with a few Manichaeian exceptions they are mainly inspired by the late Hellenistic art, their dates ranging from the third to the tenth century. Nevertheless the reproduction of the wall-paintings, which has been undertaken by the Government of India, still awaits publication.

From a general review of the Indian antiquities described by the above authors, it appears that a few of them belong to the Brahmanical culture. Such are the seals with effigies of Kubera and Trimukha discovered by Stein at Niya (abandoned before the end of the 2nd century A.D.) and the

painted Gaṇeśa at Endere. But by far the largest number of paintings and sculptures belongs to the Mahāyānist Buddhist culture. The figures or scenes represented are those of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and lesser divinities, of the Buddhist paradise, of *Maṇḍalas*, and they are often accompanied by figures of donors of a particularly individualistic type. Thus in his great work *Serindia* (Chs. xxii-xxiii) Stein divides the paintings from the closed chapel at the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* into five classes according to subjects. These are (1) Scenes from Buddha's life, (2) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, (3) Lokapālas and Vajrapānis, (4) Divine groups and (5) Buddhist paradise. While the topics of most of the paintings are Buddhistic, they belong to an extra-ordinary variety of styles. At Turfan Grünwedel was able to distinguish no less than five or six different schools of paintings: Gandharian, Indo-Scythian, old Turki, Uigur and Tibetan. The same variety of styles has been noticed by Le Coq in his description of the wall-paintings in the Second Part of his work on *Buddhist Late Antique Art* above mentioned. The paintings from the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* which illustrate the Buddhist religious art of the T'ang period (618-907 A.D.) and have been described to be for China what Ajanta is for India, have been shown (Cf. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen-houang*) to represent the mingling of Chinese, Graeco-Indian and Iranian elements. To illustrate the cosmopolitan character of the Buddhist art of Central Asia, one further example will suffice. As Stein has shown, the frescoes of the ancient Buddhist sanctuaries at Miran, which are dated about the 4th century A.D., have affinities with the Romano-Syrian and the Copto-Hellenistic art of the early Christian centuries.

From the point of view of Greater Indian research, the chief interest, naturally enough, belongs to the discovery, at various Central Asian sites, of Buddhist and other Indian texts written in Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as in the various local languages current at the time. Written in ink on birch-bark or paper or wood or leather, in Kharoṣṭhī or

several varieties of the Indian Gupta script, these texts (along with others in Chinese and Tibetan) have restored to us, if in fragments, numerous works of Indian literature either in their originals or in translations. In the task of publication of these precious records the pioneer worker was the late A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, who edited in the last decade of the 19th century the celebrated Bower Mss. acquired by Lt. Bower in 1889 in the course of his journey through Kucha. These Mss. written in Sanskrit on birch-bark in North-West Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D. consisted of a miscellaneous collection of medical treatises, proverbial sayings and the like. Other Mss. of the same type from Godfrey, Macartney and Weber collections were edited by Hoernle in the closing years of the last century. More important was the publication by the illustrious French scholar E. Senart (*J.A.*, 1898) of the fragment of the Dhammapada in the North-Western Prakrit and in Kharoṣṭhī script, acquired by Dutreuil de Rhins at Khotan in 1893. The rich store of materials acquired by the organised Central Asian expeditions from the early years of the present century has been the occasion for a fresh series of scholarly publications. Selected Sanskrit Buddhist texts from the Stein collection from Tun-huang were edited by Sylvain Lévi (*J.A.*, 1910) and by Vallée Poussin (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, 1912, 1913). In the *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, ed. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Vol. I, Oxford 1916) Hoernle, Lüders, Pargiter and F. W. Thomas published the text and translation (with notes and comparison of parallel versions) of the fragments of no less than 26 Buddhist texts from the Sanskrit canon, of which no less than 21 belong to the Vinaya and the (Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna) Sūtra Piṭaka, while 2 are *Stotras* of celebrated poet Mātricheṭa, of which I-Tsing in the seventh century wrote, "These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain." The texts are written in paper in 'upright' and 'standing' Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century

and the Mss. were recovered from various Central Asian sites. We may next mention *An Inventory List of Manuscript remains mainly in Sanskrit* by F. E. Pargiter and another *Inventory List of Manuscript remains in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Kuchean* by Sten Konow, which were published as Appendices E. and F. of Stein's *Innermost Asia* already mentioned. Meanwhile H. Lüders started a masterly series of publications of 'Smaller Sanskrit texts' recovered by the Royal Prussian Turfan expeditions. In the first volume of this series called *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (*Kleinere Sanskrit Texte I*, Leipzig, 1911) Lüders edited with his usual thoroughness the fragments of three Sanskrit dramas (including the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa), written on palmleaf in the script of the Northern Kṣatrapa and Kushan inscriptions, which were found by Le Coq at Ming-Oi and have been since shown to be the oldest specimens of the Sanskrit drama. In the same series Lüders contributed, (Leipzig 1926) his scholarly edition of the fragments of the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitīkā* of Kumāralāta, a collection of pious legends after the fashion of *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* written by one of Aśvaghoṣa's junior contemporaries. In recent times E. Waldschmidt has published (in German) in the same series (Leipzig, 1926 and 1932) fragments of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivādins and the first volume of fragments of Buddhist *sūtras* from the Central Asian Sanskrit canon. With this we may mention the edition of the Sanskrit original of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* with Tibetan and Chinese versions by Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein (Shanghai, 1926). Among Indian scholars who have taken part in the publication of Central Asian Sanskrit texts we may mention N. P. Chakravarti who has edited and translated a text of the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* from the Pelliot collection (*L' Udānavarga sanskrité*, Paris, 1930).

We have now to notice the advance, in the last two decades, of the study and interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in North-Western Prakrit, which have been found in such large numbers at Khotan and other sites. Unlike

the Sanskrit texts, the Prakrit documents are of a wholly secular character. We learn from them how this Indian language of the North-Western region was used in Khotan and neighbouring areas in the early centuries of the Christian era not only for administration, but also for the business of every-day life. Indeed it has been shown that the Khotan region was ruled in these early days by kings bearing Indian names with the dynastic title *vijita* (See Sten Konow, *Remarks on the Khotanese Jātakastava*, I.H.Q., XVI, 1940). The complete reproduction of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Stein collection is due to the joint labours of several English and French scholars whose work appears under the title *Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. Part I. Text of inscriptions discovered at the Niya site*, 1901, transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart, Oxford, 1920. *Part II. Text of inscriptions discovered at the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan sites*, 1906-7, transcribed and edited (as above). Oxford 1927. *Part III. Text of inscriptions discovered at the Niya and Lou-lan sites*, 1913-14, transcribed and edited by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, Oxford, 1929. In his work *The language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937) T. Burrow has shown how this language corresponds closely to that of the post-Aśokan inscriptions from North-Western India and less closely with the Prakrit version of the Dhammapada. The same scholar has very recently published *A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (London, 1940), giving a translation of all the 740 documents—letters, reports, official orders, judgments etc.—that were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at the Central Asian sites.

Passing to the Indian records preserved in the new Indo-European language of Central Asia which has been one of the leading discoveries of this century, we have to begin by pointing out that it exists in two dialects centering around Karashar and Kucha. These have been respectively called Tokharian A and B from their supposed connection with the ancient Tukhāras. With better reason they have been res-

pectively styled Karasharian and Kuchean from their respective centres. For the publication of texts in these languages we are indebted mainly to French and German scholars. In *J.A.S.B.* 1901 Hoernle published Kuchean fragments of a medical treatise from Central Asia, of which, however, he was unable to offer any interpretation. Later on Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet edited (*J.A.*, 1911-12) fragments of a fresh Kuchean medical treatise, while Lévi edited (*Manuscript Remains*, Oxford, 1916) the Kuchean *Prātimokṣa* and its historical commentary of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya school. The last-named scholar published his *Notes on Ms. Remains in Kuchean* as Appendix G to Stein's *Innermost Asia*. Above all he edited and translated a series of Buddhist texts, *Udānavarga*, *Udānasūtra*, *Udānālamkāra* and *Karmavibhaṅga* (*Fragments de textes Koutchéens*, Paris, 1933). While Kuchean texts have thus been interpreted by Sylvain Lévi from the Stein and other collections, those in the sister dialect from the Grünwedel and Le Coq collections have been studied by German scholars. To E. Sieg and W. Siegling we owe the publication of Buddhist fragments (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, 1921) and a classical grammar (*Tocharische Grammatik*, 1931) in the Tocharian language. To Prof. Lüders belongs the credit of discovering not only the original name *Agnideśa* of Karashar, but also a list of its kings, Indrārjuna, Chandrārjuna and so forth. Of the two regions Kuchā and Karashar, the first has been shown by Prof. Lévi (*J.A.* 1913; *J.R.A.S.* 1914) to have played by far the more important part in the propagation of Buddhism into China. Reference may be made in this connection to the famous Kumārajīva of Kuchā, one of the greatest apostles of Chinese Buddhism. As Lévi has shown (*op. cit.*), the existing records prove that the civilisation of Kuchā was wholly Indian and Buddhist. Sanskrit evidently was the sacred language. The Kātantra grammar was studied and, as is shown by the surviving parallel versions of Sanskrit and Kuchean texts, *verbatim* translations were made from the Sanskrit. The surviving Kuchean literature consists of frag-

ments of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin school, of imitations of Sanskrit Avadānas, of Mahāyāna and Buddhist Tāntrik texts, and lastly, of works of half-dramatic, half-narrative type with Buddha and mythical kings as heroes and the inevitable Vidūṣaka as their attendant.

Besides the records preserved in the Indo-European language just noticed, Central Asia has yielded other texts written in Soghdian and Khotanese (otherwise called Śaka or North-Aryan), two hitherto unknown languages belonging to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. During the last two decades the Buddhist texts in Soghdian have been published mainly by French and German scholars, such as P. Pelliot, E. Benveniste, Fr. Weller and F. W. K. Müller. To the German scholar Hans Reichelt, we owe the publication of the fragments of Buddhist texts belonging to the British Museum collection of Soghdian Mss. (*Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums, I Teil, Die Buddhistischen Texte*, Heidelberg 1928). The *Notes on Manuscript Remains in Soghdian* by E. Benveniste and the *Inventory List of Ms. fragments in Uighur, Mongol and Soghdian* by A. von Le Coq were published as Appendices H and K in Stein's great work *Innermost Asia* above mentioned. Mention may be made in the present place of the classical work on Soghdian grammar (*Essai de grammaire Sogdienne*) published in two parts, Part I by R. Gauthiot (Paris 1921) and Part II by E. Benveniste (Paris 1929). As for the Khotanese texts, Sten Konow published (*Manuscript Remains*, Oxford 1916) two complete Khotanese Mss. of the Vajracchedikā and the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* from the Stein collection with English translation, corresponding Sanskrit (or Sanskrit and Tibetan) versions and a vocabulary. The *Śaka Studies* by Konow (Oslo, 1932) contained his edition of the fragments of the Middle-Iranian version of the Saṃghāta-sūtra with a grammatical sketch and vocabulary of the language. More recently Konow has edited (*S.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 772-823) some texts from the Maralbashi site written in a cognate dialect, which are dated by the regnal year of a king bearing the Indian

name of Vasudeva. A complete poem in Khotanese Śaka, the *Jātakastava of Jñānāśraya*, has since been reproduced (*B.S.O.S.*, IX, 4) from the Stein collection of Tun-huang Mss. by H. W. Bailey. This interesting work is a collection of verses in praise of Buddha's deeds in previous births and is of the same nature as the Chariyāpiṭaka of the Pāli caṇon. It is dedicated by its author to a king bearing the Indian name of Śrī Vijaya Śūra.

Coming to the Central Asian records written in the ancient Turki languages, we have to notice the important work done in the publication of Buddhist texts by German scholars. To F. W. K. Müller we owe the publication of a few Buddhist Uigur Mss. including fragments of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra and of Tāntric texts from the Turfan finds (*A.B.A.*, 1908, 1911; *S.B.A.*, 1916; *S.P.A.W.*, 1928, 1931 etc.). In a series of papers called *Türkische Turfan-Texte* W. Bang and A. von Gabain have published another series of Buddhist (including Tāntric) Turkish texts from Turfan (*S.P.A.W.*, 1930, 1931, 1934 etc.). Some Avadāna stories from the Turkish Manuscript fragments were translated by F. W. K. Müller in the series *Uigurica* (*S.P.A.W.*, 1931 etc.).

We come now to the Indian documents written in the little-known Tangut (Si-hia) language, that have been recovered principally from the forgotten city of Kārākhoto by the Russian expedition under Kozloff and the third Stein expedition as well as later Chinese missions. Here the important work has been done by French and Russian as well as Chinese and Japanese scholars. In *J.A.* 1914 and 1920 P. Pelliot published a few Buddhist texts from the Kozloff collection preserved in the Asiatic Museum at Leningard. In the *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping* (vol. IV, No. 3, May-June 1930) a valuable collection of Buddhist texts in the same language together with a catalogue of the Si-hia translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka was published by a group of Chinese, Japanese and Russian scholars.

Of Indian literary works from the Central Asian finds

which are preserved in Tibetan, it will be enough to mention one or two examples. In *Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (Harvard University Press, 1929) F. W. Thomas has published a paper on the Tibetan version of the Rāmāyaṇa (dated 700-900 A.D.). "It follows the general lines of the narrative in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vana-parvan*, Chs. 270-290), but the incidents and the nomenclature differ widely and indeed surprisingly." In *Tibetan Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part II (Royal Asiatic Society, London F. W. Thomas has translated the Tibetan documents of the Stein collection.

We have to notice, in the last place, the Chinese Buddhist documents recovered from Tun-huang and other sites by the several national expeditions. In the publication and interpretation of such texts very valuable work has recently been done by Japanese scholars. Of the great *Taisho edition* of the Chinese *Tripitaka*, published by J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe in 55 vols. (Tokyo 1924-29), Vols. 53 and 54 contained Mss. belonging to some of the important Central Asian collections. The valuable *Catalogue* of this monumental work (Tokyo, 1929) gave a complete list of Chinese Buddhist Mss. from Tun-huang known till then. In the concluding volume (Vol. 85) of the *Complement to the Taisho edition* in 30 volumes (Tokyo, 1929-32) have been published the Tun-huang Mss. preserved in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Japanese collections. In 1933, K. Yabuki published a masterly commentary on the Tun-huang Mss. of the Stein collection, which had been already edited by him in 1931. The Chinese Buddhist texts from Tun-huang have also been examined by the Chinese scholars Lieuo Fou, Tch'en Yin-ko and Tch'en Yuan in the publications of the *Academia Sinica* (Peiping, 1930, 1931).

TIBET

Tibet, 'the land of snow', derives its religion of Lamaism and its Lamaist church organisation, its religious art and its

literature, from Indian inspiration, if not from direct Indian authorship. To trace the recent progress of Tibetan studies in relation to Indian culture, we may properly begin with reference to the two grand divisions (Kanjur and Tanjur) of its huge canonical literature which is based on Indian originals. These two grand divisions were long known in the two editions called Peking ('red') and Narthāng ('black'). Afterwards there was discovered a new and better edition of the same from Sde-dge in Eastern Tibet. Besides Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein brought to light (Peking 1934) a new Peking edition of the Kanjur published in 1692, as compared with the other Chinese editions dated in 1410 and 1700. Another feature of recent times has been the preparation of new catalogues of the Tibetan canon which have wholly or partially superseded the older catalogues of the Kanjur by Csoma de Körös and I. J. Schmidt and of the Tanjur by Beckh. It is noticeable that in this work, as in that of cataloguing the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the lead has been taken by the Japanese scholars. The Tohoku Imperial University published in 1934 *A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons (Bḡah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur)* containing an index of 103 volumes of the Kanjur and 205 volumes of the Tanjur in the Sde-dge edition. More important than the above is the work *A complete analytical catalogue of the Kānjur division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka edited in Peking during the K'ang-shi era* issued by the Otani University in three parts (1930, 1931, 1932). In this work each Sūtra is compared with its corresponding text in the Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese canons.

In recent times Tibetan Buddhist texts often accompanied with the available parallel versions have been published by a number of Russian, German, French, Italian, Japanese and Indian scholars. Among important volumes of Indian literature thus made available to the learned world we may mention valuable works on Logic like Dignāga's *Nyāya-mukha* (ed. Tucci, 1930) and *Ālambanaparīkṣā* (ed. Yamaguchi, J.A. 1929), Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Nyāyapraveśa* (ed. V. Bhattacharyya, G.O.S. XXXIX, Baroda 1927), Dharmakīrti's

Pramāṇavārttika (ed. Rahula Sankrityayana, J.B.O.R.S. (1938-39); philosophical works like Nāgārjuna's own commentary (*Akūṭobhaya*) on his *Madhyamikakārikās* (tr. Max Walleser, Heidelberg, 1911) the *Abhisamayālamkāra* of Maitreya-nātha (ed. Stcherbatsky and Obérmiller, *Bib. Buddh.* XXIII 1929) and its commentary by Haribhadra (ed. Tucci, G.O.S. LXII, and Wogihara, Tokyo 1932), Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamgraha* (ed. E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1939), Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmaśāstra* (ed. in part by Vallée Poussin and Stcherbatsky); poetical works like Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka* (ed. in part, V. Bhattacharyya, Viśvabhāratī Series no. 2, Calcutta 1931). Reference may also be made to the publication by J. Bacot (Paris, 1930) of a great Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary containing nearly 15,000 more words than the well-known *Mahāvūyutpatti*. A fundamental treatise on Tāntrism in the Far East which exists in seven Chinese and three Tibetan versions as well as a half-Sanskrit and half East-Iranian version has been thoroughly analysed by the Japanese scholar S. Toganoo in 1930. The title of this work has been restored in Sanskrit as *Nayasūtra*. The important *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston, throwing much valuable light upon Indian Buddhism and Buddhist literature, has been translated from the Tibetan with a learned Introduction and Notes by E. Obermiller (Heidelberg, Part I, 1931, Part, II, 1932).

Coming to religion and religious art, we have to mention in the first place the publications of useful catalogues of Tibetan collections in different museums of Europe and Asia. Such are the Catalogue (in French) of the Indian and Tibetan sculptures in the Musée Guimet by J. Hackin (Paris, 1931) and the catalogue of the Tibetan collection in the Louis Finot Museum by C. Pascalis (Hanoi, 1935). The enormous influence exercised by the Pala and Sena art of Bengal and Magadha upon the sculpture and painting of Tibet has been stressed by René Grousset (*Les Civilisations de l'Orient*, tome IV, ch. 2, Paris, 1930). A first-rate contribution to our knowledge of the tangled mythology of Tibet is the work *Two Lamdist pantheons from the*

materials collected by the late Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein in two volumes (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass). Of outstanding importance is the work *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (London, 1929) by Alice Getty. Mention may also be made of Sir Charles Bell's publication *The Religion of Tibet* (Oxford, 1931).

No one has done more in recent times to advance our knowledge of Tibetan art and archaeology than the indefatigable Italian explorer and scholar Guiseppe Tucci, who has repeatedly visited the shrines and monasteries of Western and Eastern Tibet, collecting Mss. and objects of art and bringing to light unknown paintings and sculptures from its secluded cloisters. His penetrating studies have been published (in Italian) in successive volumes in the series *Indo-Tibetica*, under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Italy. In the first volume of this series (Rome, 1932) Tucci deals with the construction of the characteristic types of *stūpas* (*mc'od rten*) in Indian and Western Tibet. The author gives reasons for thinking that the Tibetan architectural processes relating to the construction of *stūpas* were entirely derived from India. It is interesting to learn that among the objects (*ts'a ts'a*) deposited in the *stūpas* there are not only figures of Buddhist deities and sacred objects, but also of the god Kārtikeya. In the second volume of the *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome, 1933) Tucci gives the biography of a great Tibetan scholar, reformer and builder (Rin c'en Bzan po) who introduced a Buddhist renaissance into Tibet c. 1000 A.D. This great Tibetan monk, who refreshed his knowledge of Buddhism from three successive visits to India, wrote after his return no less than 158 works which Tucci classifies under the three heads of *Sūtras* and *Tantras*, *Commentaries on the Sūtras*, and *Commentaries on the Tantras*. He was helped by a band of no less than seventy-five Indian scholars whom his royal patrons, the kings of Guge (Western Tibet), invited to their court. He also invited artists from Nepal, Bengal and Kashmir to build scores of temples and adorn them with sculptures and paintings. The chief temple was provided with images not only of

Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but also of Tāntrik deities associated with the Guhyasamāja cycle. In the third volume of the *Indo-Tibetica* (Part I, Rome 1935; Part II, Rome 1936) Tucci describes a number of temples of Western Tibet with their sculptures and paintings specially from the point of view of their artistic symbolism. The chronicle of this mission written (in Italian) by Tucci's companion E. Ghersi was published separately by the Royal Academy of Italy in 1933. From the standpoint of Indian culture the interest of Tucci's description lies in its reference to the esoteric significance of the *maṇḍala* or Tāntrik cycle adopted in the Tibetan temples. Mention may also be made of Tucci's discovery of some Buddhist frescoes (of the 10th or 11th century) in West Tibetan shrines, recalling the paintings of Ajanta and Ellora (G. Tucci, *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples*, *Artibus Asiae* VII, 1937). Among Tucci's recent discoveries may be mentioned that of the Mangrang monastery in Eastern Tibet with frescoes probably executed by Indian artists in the 12th century and wood-work done by Kashmirian craftsmen in the same period (see *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 18, 1936).

We may notice, in the last place, the fruitful travels (specially those of 1934 and 1936) of an Indian Buddhist monk, Rahula Sankrityayana, which have been rewarded with discoveries of Sanskrit palm-leaf Mss. in the hidden monastic libraries of Tibet. In *J.B.O.R.S.* XXI (1935) and XXIII (1937) he has listed a series of 184 and 326 separate Mss. which he discovered in the various Tibetan libraries.

MONGOLIA AND MANCHURIA

For the investigation of Mongolian Buddhist literature we are chiefly indebted in recent times to Russian, German and Japanese scholars. The West Mongol (Kalmuk) version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (one of the favourite scriptures of Northern Buddhism) has been published by Erich Haenisch (*Asia Major*, VIII, Leipzig). The Uigur text of the same *Sūtra* was edited (*Bib. Buddh.* XVII, 1913) by W. W. Radloff and S. E. Malov and was translated into

German (*Bib. Buddh.* XXVII, Leningrad 1930) by the same scholars. In 1924 Russian scholars discovered a copy of the Mongol Tanjur at Urga. Another copy was discovered in 1929 by the Japanese Prof. Haneda who took it to the Imperial University of Kyoto. The former copy was utilised by B. Y. Vladimircov in his edition of the Mongolian version of Śāntideva's Bodhicharyāvatāra (*Bib. Buddh.* XXVIII, Leningrad, 1929).

Coming to Manchuria we have to mention the discovery by the German scholar Walter Fuchs (*O.L.Z.*, 33, 1930) of two copies of the Manchurian Kanjur in a monastery at Potala in Johol and its neighbouring temple.

BURMA

By the ninth century of the Christian era Burma with its two great natural (Upper and Lower) divisions, bearing in the ancient indigenous records the names of Mrāmmadesa and Rāmaññadesa, was occupied by at least three distinct peoples all of whom were strongly influenced by Indian civilisation. In the north lay the Burmese kingdom (Mrammamaṇḍala) with its capital at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) founded in 849 A.D. In the south was situated the kingdom of the Pyu with its capital at Śrīkṣetra (Old Prome identified with the modern village of Hmawza near Prome). To the south-east lay the kingdom of the Mons (or Talaiings), kinsmen (at least by speech) of the Khasis and Mundas of India, whose capital was located at Thaton and who had an important settlement at Hamsāvati (Pegu) founded early in the ninth century. It is only by piecing together the evidence of the archæological finds and stray Chinese literary references that the lost history of Burma in early times has been recently recovered, for notwithstanding the abundance of local chronicles the authentic history of the country dates only from 1057 A.D., the memorable year of the conquest of Thaton and Pegu by the Burmese king Anawrata.

The systematic investigation of the art and archaeology of Burma begins only in the first decade of the present

century, although the Archaeological Department was established in 1899 and a serious search for antiquities had been made by Major (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple in 1894. The explorations of a French archaeologist, General L. de Beylié, in 1905 and the following years for the first time drew public attention to the wealth of antiquities at Prome. The first Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Taw Sein Ko, devoted his energies to the description of some of the famous monuments of the 11th and 12th centuries at Pagan including the Ānanda temple built by King Kyanzittha in 1090 (according to tradition) and the Mahābodhi temple built after the model of the Bodhgayā shrine by King Nandaungmya in 1198 A.D. He had, moreover, the good fortune of discovering at Hmawza funeral urns in earthen-ware and stone with inscriptions in the forgotten Pyu language, a stone inscription with extracts from the Pāli canon and a Buddhist votive *stūpa* with images of the last four Buddhas and inscriptions in Pyu and Pāli languages. These inscriptions were published by C. O. Blagden (*Ep. Ind.* XII) and Louis Finot (*J.A.* 1912). To Taw Sein Ko also belongs the credit of publishing six volumes of a Corpus of Burmese inscriptions. These are I *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, ed. T. S. Ko, 1892; II *Inscriptions copied from stones collected by King Bodawpaya*, Vol. I, ed. T.S. Ko, 1897, III *Inscriptions copied from stones collected by King Bodawpaya*, Vol. II, ed. T.S. Ko, 1897, IV *Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma*, Vol. I, ed. T.S. Ko, 1900, V *Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma*, Vol. II ed. T.S.Ko, 1903, VI *Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya*ed. Charles Duroiselle after copy prepared by T.S. Ko, 1913. Containing mere transcriptions in modern Burmese characters and neglecting the distinction between originals and copies, these volumes have been rightly condemned for their failure to satisfy the requirements of modern scholarship. During the first decade of this century Blagden published the first tentative reading of a Mon inscription (*J.R.A.S.* 1909). This is the famous text on the Mon (or Talaing) face of the quadrilingual epigraph of Myazedi,

"the Rosetta stone of Talaing epigraphy." In *J.R.A.S.* 1911 the same scholar compared the Pyu version of the above record with the Pāli, Burmese and Mon versions. Afterwards he deciphered (*Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1917) some of the Pyu inscriptions on the funeral urns discovered at Hmawza. Nevertheless it could justly be said by a competent scholar as late as 1913 that epigraphy in Burma was still to be founded (Charles Duroiselle, Preface to his edition of the *Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya*, Amarapura, 1913). With the closing years of the second decade of the present century began a period of substantial progress. In the first volume (1919) of the newly started *Journal Epigraphia Birmanica*, Blagden published his improved reading of the Mon version of the Myazedi inscription along with a glossary of Mon words and the text and translation of the Pyu version of the same record. A series of Mon inscriptions (including the Mon versions of the famous Kalyaṇī-sīmā inscription of King Dhammacheti of Pegu), was edited by the same scholar in the following volumes (vols. II-IV) of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. The soul of this recent progress in Burmese archaeology was Charles Duroiselle, who became the first editor of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* in 1911 and who succeeded Taw Sein Ko as Archaeological Superintendent in 1912. He published (Rangoon, 1921) *A List of inscriptions found in Burma, Part I. The list of the inscriptions arranged in the order of their dates with three Appendices*, listing Mon, Pyu, Siamese and Tamil inscriptions. Three *Portfolios of Inscriptions of Burma* (University of Burma Oriental Series Publications) consisting of accurate facsimiles of inscriptions from 1131 to 1237 A.D., those down to 1268 A.D. and those from 1268 to 1300 A.D., have since been published by Pe Maung Tin and G. Luce (Oxford 1933 and London 1939). The very valuable excavations of Duroiselle on the site of Hmawza in 1926-27 resulted in the discovery of an untouched relic-chamber of a Buddhist stūpa of the 6th-7th century A.D. containing "a veritable wonder-house of archaeological treasures." The central object in the

chamber was a gilt silver *stūpa* with Buddha figures in *repoussé* and a mixed Pāli-Pyu inscription. Among other objects was a Ms. of 20 gold-leaves in Pyu characters of the 6th century containing extracts from the Pāli canon. The characters of the inscription and the Ms. (like those of the gold-plate and the stone inscription at Hmawza discovered by Taw Sein Ko) bear affinities to those of the Kannaḍa-Telugu and Kadamba inscriptions of Southern India at the same period. Other discoveries made at the same site consisted of terracotta votive tablets with figures of a Buddha flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, a Bodhisattva with four arms and so forth and with the Buddhist creed inscribed in Pāli or Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters of the 8th-9th centuries. Duroiselle's discoveries at Hmawza in the following year consisted of a gold-plate inscription in Pāli in the same South Indian characters, of a bronze Buddha image with Sanskrit inscriptions in Gupta characters on the pedestal, of a large stone image of the Buddha with a mixed Sanskrit and Pyu inscription in Gupta characters of the 7th-8th centuries [For details, see *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1926-7, 1927-28]. These discoveries have opened a new chapter in the history of India's old culture-contact with Burma. They have definitely proved that in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era an Indian (or India-nised) dynasty with names of kings ending in *varman* and *vikrama* was reigning at Prome. During the same period Theravāda (or "Southern") Buddhism was the predominant religion in the kingdom, and the Pāli canon was known in its most abstruse aspects. The art-influence was derived both from the Northern Gupta tradition and the Southern Pallava style. The colonists came both from Northern and Southern India.

Next in importance to the archaeological discoveries at Hmawza are those made by Duroiselle at Pagan, the capital city of the Burmese kings, which during a space of nearly two centuries (1057-1286) was adorned by a succession of royal builders with innumerable *stūpas*, shrines and monasteries. On this memorable site Duroiselle brought to

light hundreds of stone sculptures and terracotta votive tablets inscribed with the usual Buddhist creed in a variety of languages (Sanskrit, Pāli, Pyu, Talaing and Burmese). Some of these inscribed tablets written in Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters of the 11th century bear the name of the great Burmese King Anawrata, the conqueror of Thaton, in the Indian form Mahārāja Śrī Anuruddhadeva (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915, 1926-27).

One of the important signs of the remarkable progress of Burmese archaeology in recent times has been the steady growth of museums. Not to speak of the Palace Museum at Mandalay containing the relics of the last Burmese dynasty, the museums at Hmawza and Pagan have been greatly enriched with the finds of the recent explorations.

The dark corners of the religious history of the Irrawady valley in the pre-Anawrata period have been illumined in recent times by the progress of research. In the middle of the second decade of this century because of the dearth of authentic documents it could still be said (Duroiselle in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16) that the religious history of Burma up to the eleventh century was practically a blank. A great step forward was taken when Duroiselle identified the unique frescoes of a markedly erotic character from two old temples near Pagan as representing the Ari of the Burmese chronicles, whom he identified as a Mahāyānist Buddhist sect deeply tinctured with Tantrism and deriving its origin from Bengal (See Duroiselle's classical paper 'The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16). This definitely proved the prevalence of Tantrik Buddhism among the Burmese before the absorption of Theravāda Buddhism by King Anawrata. To Duroiselle also belongs the credit of recognising traces of the Sanskrit (Sarvāstivādin) school in the Sanskrit records from Prome (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14). In the last decade of this century an Indian scholar, Nihar-Ranjan Ray has contributed a series of valuable studies on the religious history of Burma. In his *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (Calcutta 1932) based on a critical study of the extant Brahmanical images

and shrines in the country, he has brought together all the known facts about the remains of Brahmanism in Burma arranged in chronological order from the 7th to the 14th centuries A.D. His next important work *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta, 1935), based on an equally thorough study of plastic remains and literary references, gives a comprehensive account of the fortunes of the Sarvāstivādin as well as the Mahāyāna and allied schools of Buddhism in the country from the earliest times. Among his main conclusions may be mentioned the fact that the Mūlasarvāstivādin canon was introduced into old Prome probably from East India some time before the seventh century A.D. Down to the eighth and ninth centuries it flourished there side by side with the Theravāda school which had been introduced evidently from the Kannaḍa-Telugu country in the sixth century. In the eighth and ninth centuries Mahāyānism was introduced into Old Prome from East India. In Pagan it was known before the tenth century, having been probably introduced from Bengal at least in its Tantric form. Its most flourishing period coincided with the Golden Age of the Hīnayānist reformation at Pagan. Owing to the enlightened tolerance of the Burmese kings the two religions lived side by side, but Hīnayānism having the State support ultimately triumphed over its rival.

We may next mention two other publications by the last-named scholar, (*Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma*, J.G.I.S., VI, Jan. & July, 1939; *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, *Ibid.*, VIII, Jan. 1941) forming the earlier chapters of a comprehensive History of Buddhism in Burma projected by himself. In the first paper the author has established by an elaborate examination of the literary and archaeological evidence that the famous tradition of Aśoka's sending (c. 250 B.C.) the mission of Soṇa and Uttara for the conversion of Suvaṇṇabhūmi has some claims to a historical basis, that the equally famous tradition of Buddhaghosa's infusing a new life into the Buddhism of Lower Burma (c. 400-450 A.D.) has some probability in its favour, that the Pāli canonical texts evidently brought over by Indian colonists from

the Kannaḍa-Telugu country were studied in their doctrinal and abstruse aspects in Old Prome (c. 400-450 A.D.) and that Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition in that capital city (c. 550-950 A.D.), that Brahmanical Hinduism along with Buddhism was prevalent in Pegu, and lastly that Theravāda Buddhism was exceedingly flourishing in the Talaing kingdom towards the middle of the eleventh century. In the second paper a good account has been given of the religious, artistic and literary activities of the Burmese people during the Golden Age of the Pagan dynasty (c. 1057-1286 A.D.). How ennobling was the Buddhist influence on the minds of these alien rulers has been illustrated by the following quotation from an inscription of King Kyanzittha, the builder of the Ānanda temple:—
 “With loving kindness.....shall King Kvanzittha wipe away the tears of those who are parted from their trusted friendshis people shall be unto him as a child to its mother’s bosom.....he shall soften the hearts of those who intend evil. With wisdom, which is even as the hand, shall King Kyanzittha draw open the bar of the Gate of Heaven, which is made of gold and wrought with gems.”

The study of Burmese art, for which materials were almost completely lacking as late as the middle of the second decade of this century (Cf. Duroiselle in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14), has also shared in the general progress. It is true that a comprehensive history of this art involving the classification of types and schools and the analysis of their affinities down even to the end of the Pagan period has yet to be written. Nevertheless there has latterly been a good deal of preliminary studies in this direction. In his paper ‘*Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma*’ (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1912-13) Duroiselle gave a connected account of the sculptures and paintings illustrative of the Jātakas in Burmese temples from 1057 to 1820. Dealing with the style of these works of art, he declared that while the main influence came from Eastern India, the local artists in copying the Indian models created a Pagan school. In the same context he stated that everything in the Jātaka reliefs except

the style of the houses was Indian. The stone sculptures illustrative of Buddha's life from the corridor of the famous Ānanda temple at Pagan were noticed by Duroiselle in another paper (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14) where he held them to be the work of Indian artists. In a third paper on the frescoes of Pagan (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1921-22), he declared these paintings with some looseness of expression to be the work of Bengali and Nepalese artists of the Varendra school. The illustrious French scholar G. Coedès has recently suggested (*Le Musée National de Bangkok*, Paris 1928, p. 31) that the type of Buddha images of the early Pagan period in Burma and the early Tai period in Siam was directly derived from the Pala art of Bengal and Behar, a suggestion which has been confirmed by later research (Le May, *Buddhist Art in Siam* pp. 99ff.). Quite recently Indian scholars have made weighty contributions to the study of religious art in Burma. Nihar-Ranjan Ray, in his papers on Burmese religious history above-mentioned, has distinguished various Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures at Hmawza and Pagan as belonging to the late Gupta, Pallava or Pala styles. He has also pointed out that not only the *stūpas* but also the rectangular temples at Hmawza are indebted to the late Gupta and Pala art traditions. In his paper '*Paintings in Pagan*' (*J.I.S.O.A.*, VI, 1938) the same scholar has distinguished four stages of this art. At first the conception was mainly plastic, the decorations, dress and ornaments, types, colour-scheme and composition being imported from the East Indian tradition. When the process of Burmanisation began to work, the plastic conception was overtaken by the linear. In the third stage the linear conception superseded the plastic, the colour scheme etc. remaining purely Indian. In the fourth or Burmese stage the linear conception came to stay. More recently Sarasi Kumar Saraswati (*Temples of Pagan*, *J.G.I.S.*, IX, I, Jan. 1942) has shown that these temples divide themselves into three classes having their prototype in certain old shrines of Hmawza and that the Ānanda temple, in particular, while resembling the Paharpur shrine in exterior

elevation, differs fundamentally in plan, conception and internal arrangement.

By the first decade of the present century the investigation of the literary history of Burma had made substantial progress. Important chronicles for which Burma is so famous like the *Gāndhavarīṣa* and the *Sāsanavarīṣa* had been published before the close of the last century. These and other precious texts were utilised by Mabel Bode in her standard monograph *The Pāli Literature of Burma* (London 1909), where she traced the development of Pāli literature and Pāli scholarship in Burma from the 11th to the 19th centuries. Among the branches of study developed during this period are those quite familiar to students of Sanskrit literature viz. astronomy and astrology, law, medicine, rhetoric and prosody, and above all, grammar.

The progress of scholarship in recent years has made possible the publication of an up-to-date general history of Burma superseding the earlier work of Sir Arthur Phayre. This is the *History of Burma from the earliest times to the 10th March 1824, the beginning of the English conquest* by G. E. Harvey (London, 1925). The author, while treating the early history of Burma in a very summary fashion, has sought to utilise all available materials including the highly valuable indigenous chronicles which, as he says, are without a parallel in the mainland of Indo-China.

SIAM

Siam, or as it is now called, Thailand, was ruled before the complete establishment of T'ai sovereignty in the thirteenth century by peoples of diverse stocks, the Mons in Central and Northern Siam, the Khmers in North-East Siam and the Śrīvijaya kings in the Peninsula. In a country so diversified it was no wonder that there arose different schools and styles of art, but all of these were directly or indirectly saturated with Indian influences.

The beginnings of the State organisation of archaeological research go back in Siam only to the third decade of this century, though the Vajirañāna National Library (so called

after the name of the then reigning king before his accession) had been established at Bangkok as far back as 1905. It was in 1924 that King Rama VI founded the Archaeological Service. His successor King Prajadhipok established at Bangkok in 1926 the Royal Institute (*Rājapāṇḍityasabhā*) of Literature, Archaeology and Fine Arts. In the same year he formed the National Museum at Bangkok out of the collections of King Mongkut, King Chulalongkorn and Prince Damrong Mahānubhava. Other museums were started before or after this time at Lopburi, Ayudhya and other places.

To no single scholar is Siamese art as well as archaeology more indebted than to the illustrious French savant George Coedès. Appointed Librarian of the Vajirañāna National Library in 1917 and thereafter called to the office of General Secretary of the newly founded Royal Institute of Siam, he enriched almost every branch of Siamese antiquities by his illuminating researches extending over many years. His preliminary studies of the documents bearing on the Sukhodaya dynasty (*Documents sur le Dynastie de Sukhodaya*, B.E.F.E.O., XVII, 1917) were followed by a more intensive investigation of the beginnings of the dynasty (*Les origines de le Dynastie de Sukhodaya*, J.A., 1920). Of the greatest value as a source-book of the history of Siam was his publication of the text and translation of the inscriptions extending from the Indo-Mon Kingdom of Dvāravatī down to the Tai kingdom of Sukhodaya (or *Suk'ōt'ai*). This work bearing the title *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam* was published in two parts, Part I (Bangkok 1924) dealing with the inscriptions (Pāli and Thai), of the Sukhodaya kingdom (13th-16th centuries), and Part II (Bangkok 1929) dealing with the inscriptions (Pāli and Mon) of the Dvāravatī kingdom (7th-8th centuries), the inscriptions (Sanskrit and Khmer) of the Śrīvijaya kingdom (8th-12th centuries), the inscriptions (Pāli and Mon) of the Haripuñjaya kingdom (12th-13th centuries). It contained, among other things, a masterly summary of the archaeological evidence relating to the early history of Siam. Of equally fun-

damental importance was Çœdés's publication (with a French translation and a learned Introduction) of two Pāli chronicles from the Mss. collection of the National Library of Bangkok *Documents sur l'Histoire Politique et Religieuse du Laos Occidental*, (B.E.F.E.O., XXV, 1925). These works are the *Jinakālamālinī* ('Garland of the times of the Buddha') of the monk Ratnapaṇṇa (dated about the beginning of the 15th century) and the *Chāmadevīvaṃsa* ('Chronicles of Chāma Devi) of the monk Bodhiraśmi (written in 1516 A.D.) and they rank as first-rate authorities for the history of Yonakaraṭṭha (Western or Siamese Laos) from the beginning down to their own times. To the above-mentioned work Çœdés has added a number of valuable Appendices including *A list of chronicles and other documents relating to the history of Simese Laos preserved in the National Library at Bangkok*, *A List of inscriptions found in the two provinces of Siamese Laos, the text and translation of the Mon Inscriptions of Lopburi and Lampun* and so forth.

The study of art and architecture in Siam has equally benefited by the scholarly activities of Çœdés. In *J.S.S.*, XXI, (1928) he identified certain bronze Buddha images excavated from the ancient site of Pong Tuk in the previous year as belonging to the Amarāvati (2nd century) and Gupta (6th century) styles. In his important work (in French) called *The archaeological collections of the National Museum at Bangkok* (*Ars Asiatica*, XII, 1928) containing 40 Plates illustrating the art of Siam, he distinguished four schools classified under the heads 'Art of Dvāravati', 'Art of Śrīvijaya', 'Art of Lopburi, and the Tai (or Siamese) Art subdivided into the schools of Xiensen, Sukhodaya, Utong and Ayudhya. Explaining the characteristics of these schools he pointed out that the art of Dvāravati (Central Siam) was based on Gupta models and was the intermediary through which Indian art influenced the 'primitive' or 'pre-Khmer' art of Cambodia. He also held that the school of Lopburi represented a provincial Khmer art, while the school of Xiensen was derived from Pala art by way of Burma. In this connection he did a distinct service by discarding the title

'Græco-Khmer' applied by some scholars to the art of Dvāravatī. At a later date Coedès identified (*Études d' Orientalisme Linossier*, pp. 159-164) certain sculptures from the ancient city of Srideb as forming the link between Gupta and early Khmer art.

While the main credit for investigating the art and archaeology of Siam belongs to Coedès, other scholars have made important contributions to their study during the last twenty years. To the Siamese scholar-prince Damrong we owe *A History of Siam prior to the Ayudhya period*, which was translated into English in *J.S.S.* XIII, (Bangkok 1920). In this work new light was sought to be thrown upon the history of the Early Tai kingdoms. Prince Damrong also wrote in Siamese *A History of Buddhist Stūpas in Siam* (Bangkok 1926), while he published in the *Jubilee volume of the Siam Society* (Bangkok 1930) a paper on the *Evolution of Siamese Art* illustrated with forty Plates. About this time A. Salmony produced his work *The Sculpture of Siam* (London, 1925; French ed., Paris 1925) which, written from an æsthetic standpoint, has been rightly condemned (cf. Finot and Goloubev's criticism in *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1927) for its grievous errors of history and chronology. In *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI (1931), J. Y. Claeys published an important paper (in French) called *The archaeology of Siam* where he described a large number of monuments with critical remarks on the history and chronology, architecture and sculpture, of Siam. The art of Siam has also been discussed by Pierre Dupont in his paper *The Art of Dvāravatī and Khmer Art* (*R.A.A.*, 1935) where he points out that the standing Buddha images of the Bayon period represent the survival of the Dvāravatī art of Siam and Laos. Coming to epigraphy, we may mention the publication with translation and notes by R. Halliday of a list of seven Mon inscriptions of Siam (*B.E.F.E.O.* XXX, 1930). In this connection reference may be made to E. Seidenfaden's paper (in French) called *Complement to the Inventory of the monuments of Cambodia from the four provinces of East Siam* (*B.E.F.E.O.* XXIII 1923) supplementing Lunet de Lajon-

quière's *Descriptive Inventory of the monuments of Cambodia* (1902-12) to be described below.

Another scholar who has enriched the art and archaeology of Siam in recent times is Reginald Le May, for some time Economic Adviser to the Siamese Government. In his work *The Coinage of Siam* (Bangkok, 1932), while describing the coin-types of the Ayudhya and other dynasties, he pointed out that the Tai were the first people in the Far East to introduce a standardised silver currency. The ceramic art of Siam which is indebted to the famous Sung pottery of China, was studied by him in his paper '*The Ceramic wares of North-Central Siam* (*Burlington Magazine*, London 1933). In his *Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge, 1938), he has published the first comprehensive account of the rise and development of sculpture and architecture in Siam from the earliest times to the 16th century. Based chiefly on the researches of Cœdès to whom the author freely acknowledges his indebtedness, this work distinguishes no less than nine different schools:—(1) Pure Indian, up to the 5th century, (2) Mon-Indian (Gupta), 5th to 10th centuries, (3) Hindu-Javanese, 7th to 12th centuries, (4) Khmer and Mon-Khmer transition, 10th to 13th centuries, (5) Tai (Chiengsen), 11th to 14th centuries, (6) Tai (Suk'ot'ai), 13th to 14th centuries, (7) Khmer-Tai transition (U'kong), 13th to 14th centuries, (8) Tai (Lopburi), 15th to 17th centuries, (9) Tai (Ayudhya), 14th to 17th centuries. To these has to be added a tenth, viz. the school of Funan. The influences bearing on all these schools, however, have been, directly or indirectly, all Indian. Le May's views have been endorsed by Cœdès who points out (*J.R.A.S.*, 1939) that the former has rightly prolonged the Mon-Indian school to the eleventh century and has emphasized the influence of the Pala art upon the Chieng-sen school.

Among recent explorers of ancient sites in Siam we may mention H. G. Quaritch Wales. As early as 1931 he had published his work, *Siamese State ceremonies, their history and function*, where he showed that these ceremonies were a curious blend of Brahmanical and Buddhist elements

and might be traced back to India through literary sources. As leader of the first research expedition (1934) under the auspices of the newly started *Greater India Research Committee* in London, he explored, with the aid of a generous grant of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Siamese portion of the Malay Peninsula. His discoveries including those of Brahmanical images at Takuapa (Ptolemy's Takkola) on the west coast and at Caiya on the coast of the Bay of Bandon in the east led him to confirm R. C. Majumdar's view relating to location of seat of the Śailendra dynasty in Malay. What is more, he held Caiya to be the original capital of this dynasty. He further suggested as against Parmentier and Bosch, that the region around the Bay of Bandon deriving its original inspiration from Indian influences across Takuapa was the cradle of the Far Eastern civilisation (See H. G. Quaritch Wales 'A newly explored route of Ancient Indian cultural expansion,' *I.A.L.*, IX, 1935). In his second expedition (1935-36) the same intrepid explorer visited the ancient site of Pong Tuk excavated by the Archaeological Department of Siam in 1927, and he was rewarded with the discovery of a ruined brick *stūpa* and *vihāra* of the Dvāravātī period. He explored the ancient city of Srideb in Southern Siam which had been discovered by Prince Damrong in 1905 and had produced a few sculptures identified by Coedès as belonging to the Gupta school. Quaritch Wales' discoveries at this site consisted of the plan of the deserted city recalling that of Ancient Indian towns, of a ruined brick tower on a pyramidal base resembling the Gupta brick temple at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district, of Vaiṣṇava sculptures recalling the figures on the Gupta temple at Bhumara and of stone inscriptions in South Indian characters of the early sixth century (See H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Exploration of Śrī Deva*, *A.B.I.A.*, Vol. X.).

A fresh field for exploration of Siamese sites has been opened by the enterprise of the French School of the Far East in our own times. A convention signed with the Siamese Government in 1937 has given the School the right

of archaeological exploration in the country for a minimum period of five years. The first expedition led by Pierre Dupont in 1939 succeeded in excavating on an ancient site near Nakon Pathom the remains of a *stūpa* recalling the most archaic models of South India and Ceylon along with other antiquities belonging to the art of Dvāravatī (7th-8th centuries). At Nakon Pathom were also discovered votive tablets with the Buddhist creed in Pallava characters analogous to those of the oldest Indo-Chinese inscriptions of the 5th century A.D. (See *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIX 1939 for a full account illustrated with plans).

In the field of general history we have to mention the important work of W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam from the earliest times to the year A.D. 1781* (London, 1926). While it has the merit of giving the first connected account of the country based on first-hand sources, it unfortunately fails to do justice to the period covered by the Hinduised pre-Tai states of Siam. It brings down the history of Siam to the date of accession of Rama I, the founder of the present dynasty.

From a general review of the above accounts it will appear that an enormous influence was exercised by Indian civilisation upon Siam (or Thailand) during the past centuries. Not to speak of the bronze Buddha images directly imported from Amarāvati by Indian immigrants probably in the 3rd century, A.D., the Mons who were the dominant people in Central Siam (c. 500-1000 A.D.) with Dvāravatī as their centre were devout Buddhists of the Hinayāna school. The Buddha images of this period have been shown to bear close affinities to those of Sarnath and the Ajanta caves. The Mons have left behind inscriptions not only in their own language, but also in Sanskrit and Pāli. At a later period North Siam with Haripuñjaya (Lampun) as its centre was colonised by the Mons or Mon-speaking races. These colonists also were fervent Buddhists and they covered their cities with beautiful temples and *stūpas*. In Siamese Malay under the rule of the Hinduised Śrīvijaya and Śailendra dynasties Caiya and Nagara Srīthammarat (Ligor) on the east

coast and Takuapa on the west coast were important centres of Indian culture. On these sites have been discovered Mahāyāna Buddhist bronzes derived from Pala art and Brahmanical stone sculptures apparently based on Pallava art. It seems that there was at this period a fresh wave of immigration from East India. Between the 3rd and 6th centuries Central Siam (with its centre at Lopburi) as well as North-East Siam was included in the kingdom of Funan. The kingdom of Cambodia extended its sovereignty over the same region between the 10th and the 13th centuries. During this long period Brahmanism as well as Buddhism was in high favour. The Gupta art (according to Coëdes) or the Pallava, Chālukya and Pāṇḍya art (according to Le May) furnished the model for the Funan images. Khmer sculpture forms a distinctive type which is found in its pure form in the North-East and is mingled with Mon elements in Central Siam. From the 13th century onwards Siam has been ruled by the Tai, a Mongoloid people from the Chinese province of Yunnan. The various Tai dynasties which were in power with their capitals at Chiengmai, Chiengsen, U'kong, Ayudhya and Bangkok were from time to time in contact with the great Empire of China. Nevertheless the civilisation of the Tai from first to last is almost completely dominated by Indian and allied cultures. The oldest Tai (Chiengsen) school of Siam has been proved to derive its new type of Buddha image from Pala art through the intermediary of Pagan. With the Suk'ot'ai school began a new Buddha type based largely on Chiengsen, but also partaking for the first time of Sinhalese influence. From this time Sinhalese Buddhism began to exercise considerable influence upon the religion and art of Siam. Nevertheless we find that at the beginning of the Ayudhya period in the 16th century there was erected a considerable number of Brahmanical images testifying to the continuation of the Indian influence. [For references, see Reginald Le May, *Buddhist Art in Siam*, pp. 149-150].

CAMBODIA

Cambodia, the land of the Khmers (kinsmen by language if not by race of the Mons of Burma and the Khasis and Mundas of North India), now forms a protectorate of French Indo-China. For nearly 900 years (c. 550-1450 A.D.) it was ruled by a succession of Hindu (or Hinduised) dynasties under whom it not only became one of the leading powers of South-Eastern Asia, but also developed an advanced civilisation testified to by its legacy of magnificent works of art and of Sanskrit inscriptions of a high quality. And yet Kambujadeśa, to give it its Ancient Sanskrit name, was not the oldest Indian colony in that part of the country. It was itself established on the ruins of another Indian kingdom known to the Chinese writers as Funan. Traditionally said to have been founded (about the 1st century A.D.) by the Brahman Kaundinya and completely Indianised by another person of the same name c. 400 A.D., this ancient kingdom witnessed a full blossoming of Hindu culture before its disappearance about the end of the sixth century.

By the middle of the second decade of the present century the foundations of Cambodian studies had been well and firmly laid by a band of French scholars. The decipherment of the first Sanskrit inscriptions from Cambodia in 1879 by the renowned Dutch scholar Hendrik Kern, the founder of Cambodian epigraphy, was followed by the publication of the text and translation of a large number of similar inscriptions by Auguste Barth and Abel Bergaigne. Their work called *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge et du Champa* was published in volume XX, Part I of the *Notices and Extracts of the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale and other Libraries* (Fasc. 1, Paris 1885, Fasc. 2, Paris 1893). The foundation of the renowned *French School of the Far East* (at first called by the modest name of *Archaeological Mission of Indo-China*) in 1898 was the signal for a great outburst of scholarly activities. To the famous *Bulletin* of this School (started in 1901) its members have contributed numerous papers which have illuminated the dark corners of the art,

archaeology and general history not only of French Indo-China, but also of adjoining lands. The activities of this School were directed at first towards a systematic survey of antiquities. In 1901 Lunet de Lajonquière produced his *Archaeological Atlas of Indo-China* (in French) tracing the monuments of Champa and Cambodia. Afterwards he published his great *Descriptive Inventory of the Monuments of Cambodia* (in French) forming the First Part of his projected *Archaeological Inventory of Indo-China*. This work consisted of three volumes (Paris, 1902, 1907, 1912) containing along with useful general introductions short notices of all monuments and inscriptions in the different provinces of Cambodia, Siam and Cochin-China. From 1907 when Siam ceded to France the provinces of Battambang and Siemrap, the School began to devote its energies to the exploration and conservation of the world-famed Angkor group of monuments included in the cession. Meanwhile E. Aymonier published his comprehensive work *Le Cambodge* in three volumes (Paris, 1900-1904). The volumes, dealing successively with the present kingdom of Cambodia, the Siamese provinces and the Angkor group, contained a detailed description of the land and the people, the laws and institutions, the monuments and inscriptions and last but not the least, the geographical regions. With this may be mentioned the great Bibliography of the Indo-Chinese peninsula (*Bibliotheca Indo-Sinica*) of H. Cordier which was published by the French School of the Far East in four Volumes (1912, 1913, 1914), Volume I dealing with Burma, Assam, Siam and Laos, Volume II with the Malay Peninsula, Volumes III & IV with French Indo-China. [The Index of the whole work from the pen of M.A. Roland-Cabaton had to wait for publication till 1932]. Work of a different kind was done by Pelliot who pushed back the history of Hindu civilisation in French Indo-China by recovering from the invaluable Chinese literary references the forgotten record of the Kingdom of Funan (*B.E.F.E.O.* III, 1903). In *B.E.F.E.O.* XVI Parmentier published a series of six maps illustrating the sites of the stone

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inscriptions and the gradual expansion of the Khmer domination.

The remarkable advance that has been achieved in recent years in our knowledge of Cambodian history and antiquities is almost entirely due to the activities of the French School, and above all, of its illustrious Directors Louis Finot and George Coedès and architect Henri Parmentier. To begin with archaeology, there appeared under the auspices of this School a volume (in French) called *General Lists of inscriptions and monuments of Champa and Cambodia*, 2nd ed., 1923. The first part dealing with inscriptions was the work of Coedès and the second describing the monuments was written by Parmentier. In *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXV (1925), XXVIII (1928), and XXIX (1929) Finot published a number of important inscriptions (especially from Angkor) discovered since 1923. The school took the lead in carrying into effect a scheme of Corpus of Cambodian inscriptions first projected by Georges Maspero. Between 1926 and 1928 there appeared four volumes, Vols. I-III, Paris, 1926-27, Vol. IV Paris 1928, of *Inscriptions of Cambodia* containing the facsimiles of inscriptions not comprised in the work of Barth and Bergaigne or else occurring there without facsimiles. A fifth volume of the usual facsimiles of Sanskrit inscriptions was published by Finot in 1931. The sixth and last volume of the Corpus containing 44 Plates of new inscriptions discovered since 1929 was produced by Coedès in 1937. To this last the author added the text and translation of the inscriptions concerned, under the title *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 1 (Hanoi, 1937). Meanwhile Coedès had deciphered (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, 1931) two inscriptions of Funan, one mentioning the installation of the foot-prints of God Viṣṇu by King Guṇavarman (first half of fifth century) and the other referring to Kings Jayavarman and Rudravarman (first half of sixth century). The same scholar has since identified (*J.G.I.S.*, IV, 2 July 1937) a newly discovered epigraph as referring to this Jayavarman who reigned at the end of the 5th century. The inscription which begins with invocation

to Lord Viṣṇu records the foundation of a hermitage by Jayavarman's principal Queen called Kulaprabhāvatī.

Coming to monuments and works of art, it could be a matter of reproach as late as 1921 that while disproportionate attention had been given to the epigraphy and philology of Cambodia, its art and archaeology had never been methodically studied. [Cf. Groslier, *Arts et Archéologie Khmers*, I (1921-22), Fasc. I, Introduction, pp. 7ff.]. During the last twenty years, however, the School has pursued a ceaseless and most successful campaign of archaeological exploration and research. To take a few examples, we may begin by referring to Henri Marchal's discovery at Roluoh (identified by Çœdés with Hariharālaya, a capital of Jayavarman II), of a temple belonging to the end of the ninth century. Other excavations have recently been carried out at Phnom Kulen, probably identical with Mahendraparvata, another capital of Jayavarman II (latter half of 8th century—854 A.D.). These discoveries have proved (Philippe Stern, *La transition de l'art preangkoréen à l'art angkoréen et Jayavarman II* in *Études d'Orientalisme Linossier*, pp. 507-524) the architectural style of Jayavarman II to be intermediary between the 'primitive' and the 'classical' Khmer art. In the Angkor group of monuments themselves Çœdés has recently discovered a pre-Angkor monument. Remains of three brick towers having been brought to light by Marchal in 1930, Çœdés was able to prove the identity of the central tower with the sanctuary of Kuṭīśvara of the reign of Jayavarman II mentioned in the inscriptions. At Bantay Srei (Íśvarapura), 12 miles north-east of Angkor, was discovered in 1914 a Sivite temple which has been proved (Çœdés, *B.E.F.E.O.* 1929) to have wholly belonged to the reign of Jayavarman V (10th century). The temple, which consisted of three sanctuaries and two libraries adorned with exquisite reliefs representing Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava mythology, has formed the subject of a magnificent monograph called *Le Temple 'd'Íśvarapura (Bantay Srei)*, Paris, 1926. In this volume which forms the first of the series of *Memoirs of the French School of the Far East* the monuments have

been described by Parmentier, the images by Goloubev, the inscriptions and general history by Finot.

By far the most important and fruitful of these explorations and researches have centred around the wonderful group of monuments at Angkor which was the capital of the Cambodian kingdom for more than five centuries. To the assiduous care of Henri Marchal the conservator of the group of Angkor monuments since 1916 is due a good deal of valuable work in the way of exploration, conservation and popularisation of these monuments. The first complete photographic inventory of the great monument of Angkor Vat was published as the second Memoir of the French School of the Far-East in a series of magnificent volumes (in French) called *The Temple of Angkor Vat*. Part I of this monumental work bearing the title *The Architecture of the Monument* (2 Vols., Paris & Brussels, 1929) was illustrated with 73+78 Plates and 2 Plans with a Preface by Finot tracing the history of the temple from its foundation to its restoration under French auspices in recent times. Part II called *The Ornamental Sculpture of the Temple* (2 Vols., Paris & Brussels, 1930) was brought out with 436 Plates and 2 Plans with an Introduction by Goloubev. Part III. called *The Gallery of bas-reliefs* (3 Vols., Paris 1932) was illustrated with 64+146+112 Plates and 4+5+3 Plans with a Preface by Cœdès. Among the subjects of these world-famed bas-reliefs are legends of Viṣṇu and his two incarnations of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the Hindu Heavens and Hells and the like. Altogether these seven volumes form a worthy record of the imperishable temple which has been rightly reckoned among the greatest monuments of the world because of the amplitude of its architecture and the richness of its sculpture. Built as a Viṣṇuite temple between the years 1115 and 1180 A.D. by Sūryavarman II and his nephew and successor Dharanindravarman II, Angkor Vat underwent strange vicissitudes of fortune, for it was appropriated by Jayavarman VII (1181-1201) to the cult of Mahāyāna Buddhism and was afterwards annexed to Hinayāna Buddhism. Passing to the famous city of Angkor

Thom (north of Angkor Vat) with its well-known group of monuments like the Bayon and the Baphuon, we may first mention that the Baphuon has been recently identified by Çœdés (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI) with Svarṇādri which the inscriptions record to have been built by Udayādityavarman II in the second half of the eleventh century. Of fundamental importance is the discovery due to the recent researches of Çœdés and Golubev that the present city of Angkor Thom with its group of monuments was not built by Yaśovarman I at the close of the ninth century as was formerly supposed, nor by Sūryavarman I (1002-1049) as was later suggested by Philippe Stern (*Le Bayon d' Angkor et l'évolution de l'art Khmer*, Paris 1927), but was the work of Jayavarman VII at the close of the twelfth century A.D. The excavations carried out during 1931-32 and 1933-34 under the guidance of Golubev supplemented by aerial surveys of the site have since revealed the plan of the original city of Yaśovarman I, which was a rectangle like its successor but was larger in size. At the exact centre of the rectangle representing the older city stands the Śivite temple of Phnom Bakheng which Golubev has shown to be identical with the Central Mount mentioned in Yaśovarman I's inscriptions to have been built by that monarch for housing the tutelary deity of the realm. (See Çœdés, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXVIII, Golubev, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIII; *Ibid.*, XXXIV, *J.A.*, CCXXVI, 1935). So far as the Bayon (formerly identified with the Central Mount is concerned), the excavations carried out in 1933-34 in the pit of the central tower revealed fragments of a stone statue which have since been restored to form a large-sized Buddha image seated on a pedestal beneath the canopy of a polycephalous Nāga. This statue, which has been reckoned among the finest sculptures of Cambodia found so far, has been identified by Çœdés as the image of Jayavarman VII deified as Buddha. To the same scholar is due the suggestion that the large number of four-faced stone towers for which the Bayon is so famous represent colossal portraits of the great Emperor in the guise of Avalokiteśvara, the All-merciful deity of the Mahāyānist pantheon. Quite recently

Coedès has suggested in the light of fresh excavations that the central block of the Bayon was built by Jayavarman VII as a central temple of his restored capital with his own statue in the form of a Buddha.

The important discoveries connected with Angkor Thom and its great monument of the Bayon have resulted in a complete reconstruction of the chronology of Khmer art. The new chronology may be stated as follows: (1) pre-Angkor style, 6th-9th centuries; (2) style of Lolei and Koh Ker, 10th century; (3) styles of Bantay Srei, Baphuon, Angkor Vat, 11th-12th centuries; (4) style of Bayon, 12th-13th centuries.

We have described the remarkable progress that the French School has achieved in the way of archaeological exploration and research. This work has been accompanied by that of conservation of the monuments concerned. A new era was opened in this line by the journey of Marchal to Indonesia in 1930 with the object of studying the Dutch methods of reconstruction (*Anastylose*) which had been so successfully applied to Chañdi Kalasan and other Javanese monuments. The happy results of Marchal's expedition were seen in his reconstruction on similar lines of the southern sanctuary of the temple at Bantay Srei belonging to the 10th century (For a popular account of this reconstruction, see *IAL.*, vii, 1933).

The growth of Museums has kept pace with the march of archaeological exploration and research sketched above. Not to speak of the fine collections at the Louis Finot Museum at Hanoi, the Henri Parmentier Museum at Tourane, the Blanchard de la Brosse Museum at Saigon (created as late as 1929), we may mention the Albert Sarraut Museum at Phnom Penh (founded in 1919) which has been described as "the National Museum of Khmer art from the earliest to the most recent times." The important collections of these Museums have been made available for study and research by the publication of adequate catalogues enriched with Introductions describing classifications of styles. To confine ourselves to those dealing with Cambodian antiquities, we may mention the cata-

logues of the Phnom Penh Museum by Goloubev (*Ars Asiatica*, XVI, 1931) and of the Hanoi Museum by Marchal (Hanoi 1939). Reference may also be made to the catalogue of Indo-Chinese collections at the Musée Guimet (Paris 1934) by P. Dupont and others.

Turning to the critical studies of Cambodian art and archaeology, we have to record continuous progress during the last twenty years. A great impetus was given to these studies by the appearance of the valuable Review *Arts et Archéologie Khmers* under the able editorship of George Groslier. The successive numbers of this Journal for the years 1921-24 contain, along with fine illustrations of the monuments and their sculptures, weighty contributions on such topics as the temples of Ta Prohm and Prah Vihear, the Rāma legend on the temple of Angkor Vat, the bronzes and ceramics of Ancient Cambodia and the evolution of Cambodian art. In his work *La Sculpture Khmère ancienne* (Paris 1925), Groslier propounded a new theory of the origin and evolution of Khmer art which, however, has failed to command acceptance. According to his view, Kambuja art began in the 1st-7th centuries A.D. and its remnants are monuments of purely Indian character. Cambodian art properly so-called, which has no connection with the art of the first period, began only in the 8th-9th centuries A.D. The first adequate study of Khmer bronzes with reference to their date and origin, their iconography and comparison with Siamese, Javanese and Indian bronzes, was given by Coëdès in his finely illustrated work *Bronzes Khmers* (*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. V, 1923). The specimens were selected from public and private collections at Bangkok as well as from the collections at the royal palace at Phnom Penh and the museums of Cambodia and the French School at Hanoi. In his German work called *Old-Javanese Bronzes from the Ethnographic Collection of the Natural History Museum at Vienna* (Wien, 1925), Heine-Geldern described the character and quality of the Javanese bronzes and their relation to the Indian and Wayang types. A brief account of Cambodian architecture and sculpture was given by A. K. Coomara-

swamy in his well-known work *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927). By far the most important works on Khmer art that have appeared in recent times are those of Parmentier [*L'art Khmer primitif*, 2 vols., Paris 1927; *Complément à l'Art Khmer primitif*, B.E.F.E.O., 1936; *L'art Khmer classique: Monuments du Quadrant Nord-Est*; 2 Vols. Vol. I Text, Vol. II Plates (architectural drawings), Paris, 1929]. In these works we get a masterly and well-illustrated account of all the known Khmer monuments together with general characteristics of their style and valuable discussions on the relations between Khmer art and the related arts of Champa, Java and India. In his article *The History of Khmer Architecture (Eastern Art*, III, 1931), Parmentier gave a detailed analysis of the imported Indian architecture of Funan, of the architecture, sculpture and minor arts of the Early Khmer period and of the architecture of the classical period. In the same context he distinguished three chronological divisions of Khmer architecture, viz. Early Khmer (6th-8th centuries), Classical (9th-15th centuries) with five subdivisions, and Modern (from the 15th century onwards). Intensive studies in the evolution of the Khmer pilaster and pediment as well as of the *maṅkara* arch have been recently carried out by Mme. Gilberte de Coral Rémusat (*Annales d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris 1935; *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, ix. 1935; B.E.F.E.O., 1936). A type of temple called *nandiṅka* said to have been built by Indravarman I (9th century) in one of his recently discovered inscriptions has been identified and described in the light of references in the Indian *śilpaśāstras* by U. N. Ghoshal (J.G.I.S., vii. No. 2, July 1940).

A fundamental question discussed by Parmentier in recent times in connection with his studies on Khmer art is its relation to Indian art. In a paper on *The common origin of Hindu architecture in India and the Far East* contributed originally in French to the *Études Asiatiques* (*Ibid.*, II Paris, 1925) and afterwards translated into English in the *Rūpam*, (Calcutta 1929), Parmentier concluded from an exhaustive analysis that the origin of all forms of Indian architecture is to

be found in the lost model of the ancient Buddhist Saṅghā-rāma of wooden construction, a type, which spreading outwards with the progress of Buddhism, was developed independently in each country according to its local conditions. This conclusion was re-asserted by the author in his later works (Cf. *L'art Khmer primitif*, Vol. I, p. 349). In her paper on the common origin of the lintels of Pallava India and the pre-Angkorian Khmer lintels (*R.A.A.*, viii, 1934), Mme. G. de Coral Rémusat has been driven to the same conclusion by an exhaustive comparison of Khmer and Pallava lintels. On the other hand, Reginald Le May (*Buddhist Art in Siam*, pp. 63-66) has recently drawn pointed attention to the close affinity between the early Khmer architecture and that of the early mediaeval temples of Kharod and Sirpur in the Central Provinces of India. Coëdes has similarly recalled (*J.R.A.S.*, 1939) the astonishing parallelism between the Bhitargaon temples of the Early Gupta period and certain temple-towers of the pre-Angkor period.

Another important question discussed in recent times, which is of great interest for the student of Indian culture is the symbolism of the Cambodian monuments. Referring to the Angkor group, Przyluski has suggested that the square design and the central temple characteristic of such monuments is the architectural representation of the universe according to Indian and Indo-Chinese ideas of town-planning. Regarding the other characteristics of these monuments P. Mus has held that the giants' bridges at Angkor, generally interpreted as illustrating the churning of the ocean, in reality stand for the rainbow which according to Indian traditions is a link between the world of man and the world of gods which is materialised on earth by the royal city, while the four-faced stone towers for which the Bayon is so famous are the four-faced images of the God Avalokiteśvara. According to the same scholar the Bayon is both a portrait of its bulider Jayavarman VII and a literal realization in stone of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, "the Bible of Sanskrit Buddhism". The symbolism of Angkor Vat has been the subject of some remarkable controversy in recent

times. While Przyluski (*Festschrift Winternitz*, pp. 326-332; *J.I.S.O.A.*, V, pp. 131-44) held that it was a funerary monument of its builder Jayavarman VII, Çœdés (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIII) has declared that it was neither a temple nor a tomb but a funerary temple, thus denying its unique character and bringing it into line with the general body of the Khmer monuments.

Coming to the general history of Cambodia and its civilisation, we have to mention the work of E. Aymonier (*Histoire de l'ancien Cambodge*) bringing up-to-date his comprehensive volumes (*Le Cambodge*) already mentioned. An ambitious work illustrating Cambodian life and culture from the first century of the Christian era onwards in the light of the extant monuments and other antiquities was published by E. Groslier (*Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, Paris 1921). It consists of two parts, Part I dealing with writing, habitations, commerce, dress and ornaments and the like, while Part II describes the monuments, with their sculptures. To an Indian scholar, Bijan Raj Chatterjee, we owe a popular monograph (*Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, Calcutta 1928) based on the researches of French scholars. It traces the political history of Cambodia from the earliest times and concludes with interesting notices of Indian influences upon its civilisation. A work of a different kind is the *Bibliographie de l'Indochine Française* (1913-26), Hanoi 1929, and *Ibid.* (1927-29), Hanoi, 1932 forming the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Sinica* of Henri Cordier already mentioned.

In the above pages we have recorded the achievements of the French School in the way of recovery of the lost culture of Cambodia. The School has also sought to introduce something like a cultural renaissance in the lands under its jurisdiction. To its stimulus and continued support we owe the foundation and maintenance not only of the Buddhist Institute at Phnom Penh, but also of the Royal Libraries of Cambodia and Laos at their present capitals Phnom Penh and Luang Prabang. Most recently has been founded under its auspices the Pāli school at Phnom Penh, which

by its publication of a series of canonical texts, has led to a renaissance of Pāli students among the people.

A general survey of pre-Khmer and Khmer culture such as we obtain from the above records reveals the immense hold exercised by Indian civilisation upon it during the whole course of its history. In the oldest times Funan with its capital at Vyādhapura had its Indian dynasty tracing descent from the Brahman Kauṇḍinya and including Guṇavarman (a patron of Vaiṣṇavism), Jayavarman and Rudravarman (probably a Buddhist). Śaivism (including the worship of a perpetual *liṅga*) was the predominant religion. The Kambuja kings of the late 6th and the 7th centuries, who delivered Cambodia from the yoke of Funan claimed descent from the Rīṣi Kambu. How deeply rooted was the Hindu influence at this time will appear from the fact that the Brahman Vidyāviśeṣa, a high official of King Iśānavarman is credited with a sound knowledge of Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Buddhism. Jayavarman II who unified the country under his rule in the early part of the ninth century introduced a Tantrik form of Śaivism centering around a *liṅga* (*Jagat ta Raja*) which became the tutelary deity of the kingdom. Yaśovarman I (889-910 A.D.), the builder of the first city of Angkor including the Śivite temple of Phnom Bakheng, was the author of a number of Sanskrit inscriptions written in the native Cambodian alphabet of South Indian origin and in a North Indian script as well as of other Sanskrit inscriptions written in the same North Indian script which indicate an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Sūryavarman II (1112-1152 A.D.), built the wonderful Viṣṇuite temple at Angkor Vat enshrining probably his own image in the guise of God Viṣṇu. Jayavārman VII, the last of the Grand Monarchs of Cambodia, has now been shown to have built the present city of Angkor Thom with its wonderful group of monuments including the Bayon. Throughout this period Sanskrit literature in all its branches, including above all grammar and *kāvya*, was studied assiduously, as is proved by the evidence of the inscriptions. Brahmanism including specially the worship of Śiva was the

dominant religion. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* (of which there was a version in Cambodia) and the *Harivaṃśa* furnished the themes of numerous bas-reliefs of the Cambodian temples. Among the most frequently illustrated scenes are the churning of the ocean, the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa holding aloft the mountain Govardhana, Viṣṇu reposing in slumber upon the serpent Ananta with Brahma seated on a lotus springing from his navel, and so forth.

CHAMPA.

The country of Champa, corresponding to the Annam province of French Indo-China without its northern districts, was inhabited from ancient times by the Chams, a people of Malay-Polynesian stock. Ruled by Hindu dynasties for nearly twelve centuries from the second or third century onwards, it became a great centre of Sanskrit culture testified to at present by its numbers of Sanskrit inscriptions. During this time the chief cities (Champāpuri, Indrapura, Vijaya, etc.) of Champādeśa (as it was called in the inscriptions), were adorned with fine monuments dedicated to Brahmanism as well as Buddhism. And yet Champa could not vie with Cambodia or Java in the greatness of its monuments. Exposed to the attacks of its formidable adversaries (specially the Annamites in the north and the Cambodians in the west and south) who ravaged their country more than once, the people lived an agitated and precarious life allowing little leisure for development of the arts of peace. The brick constructions of the shrines have not helped to preserve them to our own times.

It is characteristic of the difference between Champa and Cambodia that while the great advance in our knowledge of Cambodian art, archaeology and general history has taken place only during the last twenty years, the study of Champa antiquities was all but completed by the middle of the second decade of this century. To begin with archaeology, we have referred above to the publication of the text and translation of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia

and Champa by Barth and Bergaigne in 1885 and 1893. An important collection of inscriptions in Champa was edited by Aymonier in *J.A.*, 1891. After the foundation of the *French School of the Far East*, a large number of new inscriptions of Champa was edited in its famous *Bulletin* by Finot (see specially *Ibid.*, II-IV.) and by Huber (*Ibid.*, IX, XI & XIV). Valuable lists of inscriptions from Champa were published by Coëdès in the same Journal (Vol. VIII & Vol. XV). In the early years of this century Parmentier carried out a series of important excavations on the sites of the Buddhist monastery at Dong Duong (Indrapura) and the Brahmanical shrines at Myson and Po-Nagar. In 1909 the same scholar published the first volume of his great work on the Cham monuments (*Inventaire descriptif des monuments Chams de l'Annam*) bearing the sub-title of '*Description of the monuments*'. It contains an exhaustive account of all known Cham monuments within and outside the country with valuable preliminary notices of their geographical environment and general characteristics of their style. Meanwhile the valuable Chinese texts bearing on the history of Champa were brought to light by Pelliot, Maspero and Arousseau (*B.E.F.E.O.*, IV. & XIV). The scattered references in the Chinese and Annamite records and the evidence of Cham and Cambodian inscriptions were pieced together by Maspero in his important monograph called *The Kingdom of Champa* (*Le Royaume du Champa*, 1914) tracing the history of this kingdom from the earliest times to the final conquest of the greater part of the country by the Annamites in 1471 A.D.

The work that has been done in the investigation of the ancient Cham history and culture during the last twenty-five years has been mostly of a supplementary character. In 1918 Parmentier completed his masterly survey of Cham monuments by publishing the second volume of his great *Descriptive Inventory* bearing the sub-title of *A Study of Cham art*. Besides giving an elaborate account of the details of Cham architecture and sculpture, it described the civilisation and state of religion revealed by the monuments,

the genius of Cham art, its origin and successive periods, its aesthetics and so forth. The same scholar afterwards published (in French) his *Descriptive Catalogue of Cham sculptures in the Tourane Museum (Ars Asiatica, 1922)*. In 1923 Coëdès and Parmentier published their *General Lists of inscriptions and monuments in Champa and Cambodge* to which reference has been made above. Mention may be made in this connection of the important *Catalogue of Indo-Chinese (including Cham) collections at the Musée Guimet* (in French) by Pierre Dupont and others (Paris, 1934). Meanwhile important excavations were carried out by the French School on the site of Tra-Kieu long before (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XIV) identified by Aourousseau with the first capital of the Cham Kingdom. The reliefs of the Tra-Kieu temple have since been identified by Coëdès (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXII) as illustrating the story of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma told in the *Harivaṃsa* and the *Purāṇas*. As regards conservation of monuments, one of the most interesting examples in recent times has been the reconstruction by J.Y. Claeys of the principal temple-tower of Po-Nagar built in 817 A.D. (For a popular account, see J.Y. Claeys, *Po-Nagar, Recent work of restoration by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, A.B.I.A.*, 1931). Coming to general history, we have to mention R.C Majumdar's publication of a comprehensive account of the history and culture of Champa (*Champa: Greater India Society's publication No. I, Lahore 1927*), forming the first volume of a projected series called *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*. This volume, while based principally upon the monumental *Le Royaume du Champa* of Maspero and *Inventaire descriptif des monuments Chams* of Parmentier, seeks to throw new light upon some of the problems of general history and the history of the art of Champa. Most interesting is the author's attempt to prove against the high authority of Parmentier his thesis that Cham architecture was derived from Chalukya and Pallava styles as illustrated by the temples of Badami, Conjeeveram and Mahabalipuram. The value of Majumdar's work has been enhanced by its including the first complete Corpus of inscriptions from

Champa with his own translations and notes. More recently the problem of palaeography of the earliest Champa inscriptions, on which hinges the question of *provenance* of the first Indian colonists, has been discussed by R.C. Majumdar (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1932) and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1935). In his paper *Date of the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Champa* (*J.G.I.S.*, VI, 1939), D. C. Sircar has suggested a late date, viz. the 4th century A.D., for the famous Vo-chañh rock inscription.

The researches of an Annamite scholar of the French School, based on an exhaustive study of the Annamite and Chinese as well as European authorities, have recently disclosed the interesting history of the origin and progress of Buddhism in Ancient Annam. Buddhism, it appears, was probably introduced from India into Annam by the direct sea-route. Among its great missionaries were the Indian monks Mārajīvaka and Kṣudra (294 A.D.). not to speak of the Soghdian monk Song-houei (c. 280 A.D.) and the Indo-Scythian monk Kalyāṇaruchi (255 or 256 A.D.) (See Tran van Giap, *Le Bouddhisme en Annam des origines au XIIIe siècle*, *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1932). Excavations recently carried out in Annam have resulted in the discoveries of sculptures suggesting to J.Y. Claeys the Indian origin of Annam's first civilisation.

MALAYASIA.

The vast regions comprised in the modern Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago (otherwise called Indonesia or Insulinde) were inhabited from remote times by peoples of Austronesian speech. Known to Ancient Indian literature under the vague designations of *Suvarṇa-bhūmi* and *Suvarṇadvīpa* and to the ancient Greek, Chinese and Arab writers under equivalent terms, they were visited by Indian merchants at least as early as the first century A.D. and were afterwards colonised by Indian settlers. 'Paloura' (or to give it its Indian name Dantapura) in Kalinga was in the oldest times the great port of embarkation from India to the Far East. Especially in Java, Sumatra and

Malay the Hindu civilisation took firm root, as is evidenced by the records of numerous Hindu (or Hinduised) kingdoms flourishing in those regions for at least a thousand years till they were engulfed by the advancing tide of Islam in the 15th and 16th centuries. Twice during this long period, under the great Śailendra dynasty and under the Indo-Javanese empire of Majapahit (called in Sanskrit *Vilvatikṣta*), the greater part of *Suvarṇadvīpa* was brought under one political control.

JAVA.

Apparently the oldest references to the island of Java are to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa under the name of *Javadvīpa* and in Ptolemy's Geography in the form of *Iavadiou* translated as 'Barley Island'. A king called Devavarman, as appears from a Chinese literary reference, ruled the country in the first part of the 2nd century A.D. In the beginning of the 5th century Fa Hian found Brahmanism flourishing in the island. The oldest Sanskrit inscriptions found in the island mention king Pūrṇavarman, son (?) of a Rājādhirāja and grandson of a Rājārṣi, who ruled over Western Java in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The oldest Sanskrit inscription from Central Java written probably in the seventh century shows this region to have been equally saturated with Brahmanical culture. Under the succeeding dynasties, as is proved by the splendid remains of architecture and sculpture dating from the eighth century and the works of the Old Javanese literature practically dating from the eleventh century, an Indo-Javanese civilisation flourished exceedingly.

The early steps towards investigation of Javanese history and culture were marked by the foundation of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences (the oldest of the learned Societies of the East) in 1778, by the first scientific exploration of the Barabudur and Prambanan monuments during the British interregnum by order of the Lt. Governor Sir Stamford Raffles (the founder of archaeological research in Java), by the publication of Raffles's *History of Java* (1st edition, 1817) and lastly, by the issue of the first scientific

study of Javanese art in 1824 by C. J. C. Reuvens, Director of the newly founded Leyden Museum. The critical study of the extensive Indo-Javanese literature largely based upon the Sanskrit was begun by Friedrich's editions of the *Vṛttasañchaya*, the *Arjunavivāha* and the *Bhomakāvya* (1849-51) and his disquisitions on the Javanese Vedas, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and so forth (*Proceedings of the Batavia Society*, 1849). In the seventh decade of the last century H. Kern initiated the critical study of Indonesian epigraphy by editing a number of Sanskrit inscriptions from Sumatra, Java and Borneo (*V.G.*, VI), while A. B. Cohen Stuart published (in Dutch) an important collection of Charters in the native Kawi language with Introduction, facsimile and transcript (Leyden 1875) and W. P. Groeneveldt wrote his valuable *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources* (Batavia, 1877). In the following decade local museums were started at Jogjakarta (afterwards transferred to Prambanan) and at Dieng, in Central Java. The first catalogue of the archaeological collection of the Museum of the Batavia Society was issued by Groeneveldt in 1887. As regards the study of Indo-Javanese literature, the *Kuṭāra-mānava* (regarded formerly as the highest authority on Law in East Java) was edited with Introduction and Dutch translation by J. B. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885), while H. H. Juynboll in 1893 published his Dutch translation of the Javanese *Mahābhārata* (*Parvans XV-XVII*) which ushered in a period of serious research on the subject. We may also refer to the important studies in the Indo-Javanese theatre by Brandes (*T.B.G.*, 1889) and by G. A. J. Hazeu (Leyden 1897). The first decade of the present century witnessed, after many years of sad neglect, the establishment in 1901 of the *Committee in Netherlands-India for the Archaeological Explorations in Java and Madura* (replaced by the *Archaeological Service of Netherlands-India* in 1913) with J. L. A. Brandes as its first Chairman. (For a scathing criticism of the archaeological policy of the Dutch Colonial Government, see J. F. Scheltema, *Monumental Java*, London 1912). During the

twelve years of its existence the Committee published a valuable series of Reports (*Rapporten*) noticing the chief antiquities of the island year after year. The Committee also started a series of works (in Dutch) called *Archaeological Explorations in Java and Madura*, of which the first two volumes giving an exhaustive and well-illustrated account of the well-known temples of Caṇḍi Jago and Caṇḍi Singhasari were published by Brandes in 1904 and 1909 respectively. To the credit of the Committee must also be mentioned the restoration of the great *stūpa* of Barabudur (1907-11) by Col. Th. van Erp. Another significant feature of this period was the growth of museums. The archaeological collection of the Prambanan Museum was listed by J. Knebel (*Archaeological Report*, 1902) and that of the Dieng Museum by E. A. Sell (*Archaeological Report*, 1912). Meanwhile Juynboll published his Catalogue of Javanese antiquities in the National Museum of Ethnography at Leyden. A new museum was established at Mojokerto near Majapahit in Eastern Java out of the collection made over to the State by an enlightened Javanese Officer in 1913. The Sriwedari Museum was founded at Surakarta in Central Java out of the private collection of a descendant of the Royal House of Mataran. The Museum of the *Royal Colonial Institute at Amsterdam* was founded in 1913. As for epigraphy, Brandes edited a valuable collection of Old-Javanese charters (*Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden*) of which a revised version was brought out by Krom in 1913. As regards the interpretation of the monuments, C. M. Pleyte attempted, with the imperfect materials at his command, a complete identification of the bas-reliefs of the first gallery of Barabudur with the Lalitavistara text illustrating Buddha's life. His work (in German) bearing the title *The Buddha legend in the sculptures of the temple of Borobudur* was published from Amsterdam in 1901. The progress in the study of Indo-Javanese literature was marked by Kern's studies on the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāmāyaṇa, Oud-Javaansche Heldendicht*, 1900) and his translation of the first six cantos of the same work (*V.G.*, X.), by Juynboll's edition

of the Javanese *Ādiparva* (1906) and *Virāṭaparva* (1912), by J. G. H. Gunning's edition (1903) of the *Bhāratayuddha*, "the Iliad of the Javanese people." Meanwhile the rich stores of the Javanese and related literature were made accessible to scholars by the publication (in Dutch) of the *Catalogue of the Javanese and Madurese Mss. in the Leyden University Library* by Vreede (1892) and the *Catalogue of the Malay and Sundanese Mss. in the same library* by Juynboll (1899). A Supplement to the Catalogue of Javanese and Madurese Mss. of the Leyden University Library was published by Juynboll in two volumes (Leyden, 1907 & 1911), and a Supplement to the Catalogue of Sundanese as well as Balinese and Sasak Mss. in the same library was issued by the same scholar in 1912. These catalogues brought to light a large number of Old-Javanese poems of the Kakawin (roughly corresponding to Sanskrit Kāvya) class, such as the *Indravijaya* (story of Vṛtra's triumph and his subsequent death at Indra's hands), the *Pārthayañña* (story of Arjuna's asceticism and acquisition of the Pāśupata weapon), the *Sumanasāntaka* (story of the death of Indumatī, Queen of Aja and mother of Daśaratha) and the *Harivaṁśa* (story of Rukmiṇī's abduction by Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa's war with Jarāsandha). Useful comparisons were made by Hazeu in his (Dutch) work called *The Old-Javanese Ādiparva and its Sanskrit original* (T.B.G., 1901) and by Wulff in his (Danish) work called *The Old-Javanese Virāṭaparva and its Sanskrit original* (1917). Valuable light was thrown upon the Javanese religion by Juynboll's publication of *Sanskrit mantras* (with Old-Javanese translations) for the 'worship of Viṣṇu and his incarnations as well as by J. Kats's edition with an accompanying Dutch translation (1910) of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, a fundamental work on Javanese Buddhism.

During the last twenty-five years a steady, though not uninterrupted, progress has been maintained in all branches of Javanese research. To begin with archaeological exploration and research, under the fostering care of F. W. K. Bosch and W. F. Stutterheim, two successive Directors of

the Archaeological Service of Java, the scope of the Service was gradually widened so as to include prehistoric archaeology along with Balinese, Muslim, Christian and European antiquities. The activities of the Service were registered in successive numbers of its valuable *Archaeological Reports*. (*Oudheidkundig Verslag*). Vol. VI of this Report (1926) contains an excellent summary of Archaeological work in Netherlands-India from 1901 to 1926 from the pen of N. J. Krom. The publication of these Reports, however, was stopped in 1931, to be resumed only in 1936. Meanwhile Bosch initiated a new era in archaeological conservation by starting the complete reconstruction of the ruined monuments in place of the usual practice of restoring their fallen parts. This process (called by the technical title of *Anastylose*) was very successfully applied for the restoration of some of the subsidiary shrines of the great Buddhist temple-complex of Chaṇḍi Sewu (9th century), of the famous Buddhist shrine of Chaṇḍi Kalasan (c. 778 A.D.), of the Śivite temple of Chaṇḍi Singhasari, of the Nāga temple at Panataran and last but not the least, of the great Śiva-shrine of the Lara-Jongrang group (c. 10th century) at Prambanan. Among the important discoveries standing to the credit of the department in recent times may be mentioned that of the two earliest Hindu temples in Central Java on the site of the Changal inscription of 732 A.D., one of them probably being identical with the Brahmanical temple said to have been built by King Sañjaya in that inscription. Another significant discovery is that of the two oldest temples of Eastern Java, viz., the Śivite shrines of Badut and Besuki dating from the 8th or 9th century, which by their plan and decoration belong to a purely Central Javanese style. We may, lastly, mention the discovery of a group of terraced sanctuaries on Mt. Penanggungan in Eastern Java belonging to the final period of Hinduism in the island (1400-1500 A.D.). These have been supposed to combine the indigenous ancestor-worship with Hinduistic beliefs. In the field of epigraphy, as in that of archaeological exploration, the progress in recent times has not been uninterrupted.

In 1930 the epigraphist who was to have taken up the long-announced and much deferred publication of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum* was transferred to another post and the appointment was not renewed till 1939. On the other hand Stutterheim, Goris, Naerssen and others have edited numbers of new inscriptions in the various learned periodicals. At the same time old inscriptions were re-edited and discussed, e.g. those of king Pūrṇavarman by Vogel (1925) and the Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions by Bosch (*T.B.G.*, 1928). Among Indian scholars who have taken part in this work may be mentioned N. P. Chakravarti, H. B. Sarkar and B. Ch. Chhabra. Among the most notable discoveries in this field in recent times is that of three stone *Yūpa* inscriptions of King Mūlavarman written in 'Pallava script' of the 4th or 5th century A.D., as announced in the Year-Book of the *Batavia Society* for 1941.

Turning to the critical study of Javanese art, we have first to mention the comprehensive account of Indo-Javanese monuments from the earliest times furnished by N. J. Krom's Dutch work called *Introduction to Indo-Javanese Art* (2nd edition, vols. I-II Text, vol. III Plates, 1923). In this monumental work the author, after giving preliminary accounts of the history of Javanese archaeological explorations and the origin and technique of Javanese art, presents for the first time a systematic and detailed description of the monuments and concludes with a rapid review of Javanese metal-work. In the course of his illuminating survey the author clearly and pointedly explains the general characteristics of the building and plastic styles, and he frequently discusses, as in connection with Brandes's theory of the Indian origin of the Buddhist images of the Chaṇḍi Jago temple, the question of Indian influence. In 1926 Krom published his work (in French) called *Javanese Art in the Museums of Holland and Java* in the *Ars Asiatica* Series. It contains 60 beautiful Plates illustrating specimens of Javanese plastic art in stone and metal together with an illuminating Introduction tracing the development of Javanese art as a whole during successive periods. Recently

R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, Calcutta, 1938) has presented an elaborate and well-illustrated description of Javanese architecture and sculpture based primarily upon Krom's great work, but also incorporating the results of later research.

The all important question of the relation of Indian to Javanese art has been discussed by Bosch in a Dutch paper called *A hypothesis as to the origin of Indo-Javanese Art* (1921; Eng. tr. in *Rūpam*, 1924). While rejecting the comfortable view that the Hindu emigrants were the actual builders of the Middle-Javanese shrines, Bosch seeks to prove from an elaborate comparison between the Mānasāra and the existing remains of Javanese architecture and sculpture that the native Javanese actually knew and applied the written instructions, but the texts which in India remained mere academic projects were executed by them with the zeal of neophytes. "The Hindus were the bringers, the propagators and interpreters of technical texts, but the Javans themselves were the makers of the Central-Javanese shrines." Similar, if less definite, views have been expressed by Krom according to whom (Cf. *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, chap. IV) the creators of the art of the Dieng Plateau were neither Hindus nor Indonesians, but rather Hindu-Javans who had adopted the art-traditions of the Indian masters but had also involuntarily introduced some of their Indonesian characteristics. In his *Archaeological Description of Barabudur* (Vol. II, ch. XI) Krom similarly says that the art of Barabudur is not foreign, but is a product of Java, a fusion of Hindu and Javanese elements. With this we may compare the following statement of Stutterheim (*J.A.O.S.*, LI, no. 1). "The Hindu-Javanese Chaṇḍi is neither a Hindu temple nor a truly Hinduistic building, though its shape and ornaments are Hindu in origin. It is a thoroughly Indonesian monument based on purely Indonesian conceptions." Bosch's theory has been criticised by O. C. Gangoly (*Rūpam* 1924) and R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, concluding chapter). According to the last-named author Gupta art was the

source of the architecture and sculpture of Malayasia which remained untouched by South Indian influences till the 10th or 11th century A.D.

No single monument has attracted the attention of scholars so much as the great *stūpa* at Barabudur which has gathered a vast literature around itself since its first scientific description by H. G. Cornelius in 1814. (See *The Bibliography of Barabudur*, 1814-1926 appended to the second volume of Krom's *Archaeological Description* which runs through 18 pages). A magnificent *Description of Barabudur* (in Dutch) illustrated with a complete and sumptuous set of Plates was published by the *Royal Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography* of Netherlands-India in two parts. The first part of this great work bearing the title *Archaeological Description* was issued by Krom in two volumes (1920) (Chap. III of this work with appropriate plates was published by the same author simultaneously in Dutch and in English translation, 1926. The complete translation of the whole work was published later by the same author in 1927). Among the outstanding features of the *Archaeological Description* are the author's complete and accurate identification of panels of the first gallery of the *stūpa* with the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jātaḥamālā* of Āryasūra, the *Divyāvadāna* and other texts suggested before by C. M. Pleyte, S. d'Oldenburg and A. Foucher respectively. He also showed the panels of the second gallery to be illustrative of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (a Mahāyānist Sūtra describing the wanderings of the youth Sudhana all over India in the quest for enlightenment) and those of the third and fourth galleries to be illustrations of as yet unidentified texts associated with the Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Samantabhadra respectively. To his credit must also be mentioned the identification of the Dhyāni-Buddhas of the upper terraces with the group of six Dhyāni-Buddhas with Vajrasattva as their chief known to Nepalese, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism. The probable date of foundation of the famous monument was found by the author, from a number of short inscriptions at its base, to be the second half of the eighth century.

Finally we have to mention Krom's conclusion that the Buddhism of Barabudur (like Javanese Buddhism in general from first to last) was a kind of Tāntrik Mahāyāna based on the Yogāchāra. The next step in clearing the mystery of the monument was taken by Sylvain Lévi who discovered (*Recherches à Java et à Bali*, Leiden, 1929) the reliefs on the buried basement of Barabudur to be illustrative of a very popular Buddhist text on the working of Karma viz., the Karmavibhāga. The Sanskrit text was published (Paris 1932) by him with a French translation and the parallel Pali, Chinese, Tibetan and Kuchean versions. This was accompanied by a comparative table of the different recensions of the text and the corresponding panels of the Barabudur. Well might the great French scholar exclaim, "The stūpa of Barabudur had revealed one of its last secrets." A detailed comparison of the *Karmavibhaṅga* text and the Barabudur reliefs was made by Krom (*Med. Kon. Ak. van Wet.*, LXXVI, Series B. no. 8). Nearly at the time of Lévi's discovery Bosch was able to prove from a close examination of the original Sanskrit Ms. in Paris that the panels of the third and fourth galleries illustrated the conclusion of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* representing 110 travels of Sudhana mentioned in the text. (See Bosch's Report in *Arch. Rep.* 1929 and his Dutch work called *The Identification of reliefs of the third and fourth galleries of Barabudur*, 1929). It has thus been clearly established that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was the principal and the central text of the Barabudur.

We have now to refer to the second part of the monumental *Description of Barabudur* above-mentioned. It was published (in Dutch) by van Erp (1931) under the title *The Architectural Description*. Dealing exhaustively with the style, the technique and the ornaments of the monument, the author says that Barabudur is "a special Javanese form of the stūpa, though fitting in the general evolution of the Indian stūpa." The ornaments, according to him, are of purely Indian origin.

The question of symbolism of Barabudur has become, as

has been well said, "an apple of discord among scholars." While Foucher, Parmentier and van Erp have offered what may be called "architectural interpretations" of its unique plan and structure, "religious interpretations" have been presented by Krom, Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka. The whole question has been discussed in a very thorough fashion by P. Mus in his series of papers (in French) called *Barabudur, the origins of the stūpa and the transmigration: essay in comparative religious archaeology*, B.E.F.E.O., 1932-34). According to this scholar the entire monument is a close microcosm, its exterior envelopment corresponding to the cosmic *stūpa* while its interior corresponds to a *prāsāda*.

Of other monuments in Java forming the subject of independent study in recent times, we may refer only to the great Śiva temple of the Lara-Jongrang group at Prambanan (Central Java) and the main shrine of the temple-complex at Panataran (Eastern Java). These temples are adorned with a series of reliefs depicting the story of the Rāmāyaṇa from the beginning to the expedition to Laṅkā. A comprehensive account of these reliefs accompanied with adequate illustrations is given by Stutterheim in his German work called *Rāma-legends and Rāma-reliefs in Indonesia* (2 volumes, München, 1925). The author mentions the curious fact that while the earlier (9th century) reliefs at Prambanan are distinctly Indian in character but illustrate a non-Vālmikian version of the Epic, the later (14th century) Panataran series is typically Indonesian in style but is more closely based on Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. A popular and illustrated account based on the above is presented by J. Kats in his Dutch work bearing the title *The Rāmāyaṇa on Javanese temple-reliefs* (Batavia-Leiden, 1925).

The Javanese bronzes which are remarkable for their high artistic quality and unique iconographic interest have engaged the serious attention of scholars in recent times, though it has not been possible as yet to classify their styles. We have already referred to Krom's very valuable *Introduction to the Hindu-Javanese Art* as well as his other

work called *Javanese Art in the Museums of Holland and Java*, both of which contain important notices of Javanese bronzes. The old Javanese bronzes in the Ethnographical collection of the National Museum at Vienna have been described by R. Heine-Geldern (Vienna 1925), while those in the Royal Ethnographic Museum at Leiden have been catalogued by A. C. Tobi (*Archaeological Report*, 1930). The bronzes in the Batavia Museum have been described by Bosch (*Archaeological Report*, 1923). More recently A. J. Bernet Kempers has discussed (*The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese art*, Leiden, 1933) the mutual relation of Pala and Javanese bronzes. His conclusion is that the Hindu-Javanese bronzes in general have not developed from Pala art, but the Pala images have enriched the art of Java with a number of *motifs* and types. In recent times a good synoptic view of this branch of art has been given by R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, Calcutta 1938).

Much attention has been bestowed during recent times upon the origin of the Javanese dance and shadow-play (*Wayang*), those two fine flowers of Javanese culture. In his exhaustive work published simultaneously in Dutch and in French called *The Javanese Art of Dancing*, (or *The Dance in the Javanese Theatre*, 1931), Th. B. van Lelyveld has traced the Javanese dance to a distinctly Indian origin. As for the Wayang, its indigenous origin was long ago asserted by Brandes (*T.B.G.*, 1889) and by Hazeu (Leiden, 1897). On the other hand Krom (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, pp. 49ff) has strongly asserted its Indian origin, and his view has been endorsed by R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*).

During the last quarter of this century the steady growth of museums and learned societies to which reference was made above has been well maintained. We may refer to the publication of Bosch's Catalogue of the *Sriwedari Museum* at Surakarta (*Archaeological Report*, 1923) and the opening of the *Museum of the Java Institute* at Jogjakarta (1935). The *Batavia Society* which issued in 1929 a commemoration volume (*Feestbundel*) on the occasion of its

150th year (1778-1928) has been regularly publishing its valuable Journal (in Dutch) called *The Journal of Indian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography* (abbreviated as *T.B.G.*). Since 1933 it has been issuing its *Year-Books* containing detailed notices of its acquisitions under the heads 'Pre-historic', 'Archaeological', 'Historical', 'Mss'. 'Ceramics' and 'Ethnographic' Collections. Other specialised Journals (in Dutch) are *Djāwā*, the Journal of the *Java Institute* at Weltevreden and the *Contributions to the Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of Netherlands-India* abbreviated as *B.K.I.*, which is the organ of *The Royal Colonial Institute* at the Hague.

Within the last twenty years intensive studies have been carried out in the field of Old-Javanese religious beliefs and practices. We have referred above to Krom's great work *Archaeological Description of Barabudur* in course of which the author discusses the pantheon as well as the form of Buddhism at Barabudur. His view is that the Buddhism of Barabudur was a form of Tāntric Mahāyāna based on the Yogāchāra. In *T.B.G.*, 1924 Moens has described the last phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sumatra and Java and has called particular attention to the Tāntric beliefs and practices of the Javanese king Kṛitanagara and the Sumatran king Ādityavarman in the 13th century. In the same year Pigeaud published a critical edition of a fundamental work on Brahmanism in Java called *Tantu Panggelaran* ('World-Theatre?') It contains cosmogonic and mythological legends, descriptions of *maṇḍalas* (orders of religious ascetics) and *paśhas* (religious sects) and so forth. A large number of Javanese sacred texts, mostly based upon Sanskrit originals and containing Sanskrit verses with Old-Javanese translations, have been analysed by R. Goris in his fundamental work (in Dutch) called *Old-Javanese and Balinese Theology* (1926). Among the texts utilised by Goris may be mentioned the *Sūryasevana*, the *Bhuvanaḥśa*, the *Bhuvanaśaṅkṣepa*, the *Sang Hyang Mahājñāna* and the *Bṛihaspatitattva*. The last work has been proved by A. Ziesenis (Z.D.M.G., XIII, No. 2) to belong to the literature of Āgamas which are

the sources of the *Śaivasiddhānta*. The last-named author has since published in German a valuable paper called *Studies in the history of Śaivism and Śaivistic system in the Old-Javanese literature* (B.K.I., 1939). In the *de luxe* volume called *Mythologie asiatique illustrée* (Paris 1928) H. Marchal contributed a chapter on Indo-Chinese and Javanese mythology, two other important contributions being those of J. Hackin on the *Mythology of Lamaism* and the *Mythology of Buddhism in Central Asia*. The descriptions are accompanied with excellent illustrations. A summary of religious conditions in Java based on Dutch authorities is given by R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*). Reference may be made in this connection to F. M. Schnitger's article (in Dutch) called *Some archaeological remarks on Tāntrism in Java* B.K.I., Vol. XC.

Turning to the study of Old-Javanese literature, we have to mention Juynboll's translation of the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (Cantos VII-XXIII) in B.K.I., in continuation of Kern's translation of the same (Cantos I-VI). A new series called *Bibliotheca Javanica* has been started under the auspices of the venerable *Royal Batavia Society* for the publication of Old-Javanese and Middle-Javanese texts with their translations. Among works so far published in the series are the *Tantri Kāmandaka* (ed. G. Hooykas), the *Smaradahana* (ed. L. Poerbatjaraka), the *Nitiśāstra* (ed. Poerbatjaraka), the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (ed. J. Gonda) and the Old-Javanese *Bhīṣmaparvan* (ed. Gonda). The first consists of three mediaeval Javanese versions of stories and fables with parallel Siamese and Laotian versions, which bear the closest affinity to the Kanarese version of the *Pañcatantra* by Durgasimha, the second tells the story immortalised by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhavam* about Kāma's being burnt to ashes by the wrath of Śiva, the third is a collection of wise sayings, moral precepts and so forth of the *Chāṇakyaniti* class, the fourth is the most important Javanese work of the *Purāṇa* class. Another work of the last-named category, the *Agastyaparva*, has been edited by Gonda (B. K. I.,

1933). The Old-Javanese prose works of the *Mahābhārata* class that have recently been published include the *Korāvāsrama* (ed. J. L. Swellengrebel) and the *Navaruchi* (ed. M. Prijohetomo). In his paper *Hindu Literature in Java* (*I.A.L.*, VI, 1932) C. C. Berg distinguished between three periods of this literature as also between its two court literatures and its popular religious literature. The study of this literature, however, according to the same scholar has to remain provisional at present, because of the paucity of critical editions of texts and of works on grammar and lexicography. A comprehensive account of Old-Javanese and Balinese literature in all its branches with special reference to its Indian affinities has been presented by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar in his work *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* (Greater India Society's Publication, Calcutta 1934). More recently R. C. Majumdar has given a good summary of the whole subject based on the Dutch authorities in his *Suvarṇadvīpa*, (Part II).

The last quarter of this century has been very prolific in discussions of problems relating to the history and culture of Java. To take a few examples, the place of the sage Agastya in Javanese culture-history has been discussed by O. C. Gangoly (*The cult of Agastya and the origin of Indian colonial art*, Rūpam, 1926), L. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya in den Archipel*, Leiden, 1926), K.A.N. Sastri (*T.B.G.* 1936). The history and topography of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha has been discussed by Ir. J. L. Moens (*T.B.G.* 1937), K.A.N. Sastri (*J.G.I.S.*, 1938; *B.E.F.E.O.* 1940). Of more general character is the *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava rule as evidenced by inscriptions* of B. Ch. Chhabra (*J.A.S.B. Letters*, vol. I, 1935). Of outstanding importance is the standard work of N. J. Krom called *Hindu-Javanese History* (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1st edition 1926, 2nd edition 1931). Based on an exhaustive study of all the available data, it traces the history of Java from the earliest times to the ultimate triumph of Islam in the early sixteenth century. Accompanying the author's notices of political history are illuminating studies on the

art and literature of the island during the successive centuries. This fundamental work has been utilised by R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I), but the author has also sought to throw new light upon the numerous unsolved problems of Javanese history and culture. A bird's-eye view of India's cultural and other contacts with the Pacific lands (extending from Java, Sumatra and Indo-China to China, Japan, Hawaii and New Zealand) during Hindu times as also in the Prehistoric Age and in recent years is presented by Kalidas Nag in his well-documented work *India and the Pacific World*, (Calcutta, 1941).

BALI

The small island of Bali lying immediately east of Java enjoys, as is well known, the unique distinction of maintaining its Hindu culture down to modern times. But unfortunately the materials are lacking for a connected account of its history, art and literature. The plausible identification by Pelliot (*B.E.F.E.O.* 1904) of the island of P'oli mentioned by the Chinese authorities of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. with Bali had the result of throwing some light upon the obscure history of the island during those centuries. From these accounts we learn that kings bearing the family name of Kaundinya and belonging to the Kṣatriya caste ruled the country in those early times and that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Nikāya was almost universally prevalent there. In recent times the systematic search for antiquities has yielded a number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions in Sanskrit, Old-Balinese and Old-Javanese dating from the 8th century onwards. Transcripts of these inscriptions have been published by P. van Stein Callenfels in the *Epigraphia Balica* I (1926) and by Stutterheim in his Dutch work called *The Antiquities of Bali* (1929), while other inscriptions have been published by R. Goris (*Archaeological Report*, 1929). These records have disclosed the existence of a line of independent kings of the 10th century bearing Hindu names, viz. Ugrasena, Janasādhuvarmmaḍeva, Keśarivarma and so forth. In 1926 a

Dutch architect P.A.J. Moojen published an ambitious work called the *Art of Bali. Introductory studies on the Architecture*, which claimed to discuss the history and general characteristics of Balinese art, its religious and sociological basis, the rules and traditions of its building construction and so forth. The history, palaeography, topography, religion and art of Bali were discussed along with its inscriptions by Stutterheim in the work *The Antiquities of Bali* above mentioned. The art of Bali was also discussed by the same scholar in his *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art* (India Society, London 1935) which traces the history of religion and antiquities of the island from early times down to the 14th century A.D. Distinguishing four successive periods of Balinese art, the author says that the art of the early period (8th-10th centuries) was dominated by Indian traditions, while during the Early and the Middle Indo-Balinese periods (11th-12th & 13th-14th centuries) the Indian tradition was gradually modified by local as well as the imported Javanese elements. The Modern period dating from the 15th century does not call here for any special comment.

In his work *Sanskrit texts from Bali* (G.O.S., LXVII, Baroda, 1933) Sylvain Lévi has classified the Balinese works collected by him in 1928 under four heads (1) *Chaturveda*, (2) *Stotras*, (3) *Buddhaveda* (4) *Kāraṣaṃgraha*, *Charitra Rāmāyaṇa*, *Naiṣṭhikajñāna*, *Dāśaśīla* and the exercises in translation from Sanskrit into Balinese. The first really consists of the three first sections of the *Nārāyaṇa Atharvaśīras-Upaniṣad*, the second consists of 39 short pieces, the third dealing with the daily ritual of a Buddhist priest consists of fragments of Tantras.

The history and culture of Bali have been investigated by Krom in his *Hindu-Javanese History* already mentioned, and more recently by R. C. Majumdar in his *Suvarṇadvīpa* Parts I & II.

BORNEO AND CELEBES

The large island of Borneo called Tañjungpura and Bakulapura in the mediaeval Javanese records was colonised

by Hindu settlers as early as the 4th century A.D. The oldest Sanskrit inscriptions of the island belonging to that period, viz. the *Yūpa* inscriptions of king Mūlavarman, were discovered as far back as 1879 and being first published by Kern, were afterwards (1918) re-edited by Vogel. These records refer themselves to a line of Hindu (or Hinduised) kings ruling in East Borneo, of whom the last namely Mūlavarman performed the Bahusuvarṇaka sacrifice attended with splendid gifts to Brāhmans. Inscriptions with Buddhist formulas have since been found in West Borneo and these have been edited by B. Ch. Chhabra (*J.A.S.B., Letters*, 1935). An important expedition sent to Central and East Borneo in 1925 resulted in the discovery of a remarkable group of Brahmanical and Buddhist images concealed in a cave. Among these were stone images of Mahādeva, Nandī, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. The Buddhist images were of a peculiar iconographic type. These precious sculptures along with some related images in the Batavia Museum were published by Bosch in the *Archaeological Report* (1925) and in the official report of the expedition (1927). Judging from the style of the images, Bosch held that they could be attributed neither to Indian nor Indo-Javanese colonists, but were probably the work of Indo-Javanese settlers long out of touch with the home-land or else of Hinduised Dyaks. Another important group of Hindu relics from Borneo has been discussed (*J.G.I.S., III*, 1936) by O. C. Gangoly, who concludes that the question whether Borneo derived its Hindu culture directly from India or indirectly from Java must remain open. Recently R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II) has suggested from a fresh examination of the Hindu images on the East coast of Borneo that the Hindu colonists developed an independent art somewhat influenced by Indo-Javanese traditions.

Passing from Borneo to the neighbouring island of Celebes we have to mention the large-sized bronze Buddha which was found there and is now preserved in the *Batavia Museum*. Judging from schematic folds of its drapery,

Bosch has concluded (*T.B.G.*, 1933) that it was imported directly from Amarāvati.

The fragmentary records of Hindu culture in Borneo and Celebes have been pieced together by R. C. Majumdar in his work above mentioned (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Parts I & II).

SUMATRA

By far the most important contribution that has been made in recent times to the general history of Sumatra and adjoining lands is the brilliant reconstruction of the rise and fall of the Hindu kingdom of Śrīvijaya by the French scholar Coedès in 1918. In his epoch-making paper (in French) with the title *The Kingdom of Śrīvijaya (B.E.F.E.O. XVIII)* he traced with the help of the surviving archaeological remains and the scattered Chinese, Arab and South Indian references the fortunes of this kingdom from the latter part of the 7th to the 13th century. From the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing it was already known that Śrīvijaya was the chief emporium of trade between China and India and was the centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Seas. Coedès's new hypothesis that Śrīvijaya city which he identified with Palembang was also the nucleus of the great Śailendra dynasty that ruled Malayasia for more than two centuries was developed by Krom and Vogel in their respective papers (in Dutch) bearing the titles *The Sumatran period of Javanese history* (Leiden, 1919) and *The kingdom of Śrīvijaya (B.K.I., 1919)* respectively. In these papers was emphasised the enormous influence exercised by Śrīvijaya kings in introducing Mahāyāna Buddhism into Java and in building the splendid monuments of Barabudur, Chaṇḍi Kalasan and the like. These results were incorporated by Ferrand in his connected account (in French) called *The Sumatran Empire of Śrīvijaya (J.A. 1922)* tracing the history of Śrīvijaya (or Śailendra) Empire from the earliest times to the 12th century A.D. and later. The history of Sumatra was treated on similar lines by Krom in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* already mentioned. In 1927 Coedès published a French article on the

Fall of the Śrīvijaya Kingdom (B.K.I., Vol. 83), tracing its decline from about 1178 A.D. In B.E.F.E.O., 1930 the same scholar wrote (in French) a paper called *The Malay Inscriptions of Śrīvijaya*, where, while re-editing the four oldest inscriptions of this kingdom, he took the inscription of 683 A.D. to mean that Vajrayāna Buddhism already known to have prevailed in Bengal towards the middle of the 7th century was established in Sumatra towards the close of that century. The brilliant hypothesis of Coëdès to which reference has been made above has met with a considerable amount of criticism in later times. In his paper *A Javanese period in Sumatran history* (Surakarta 1929) Stutterheim sought completely to reverse Coëdès's position by asserting that the Śailendras originally belonged to Java and afterwards conquered Śrīvijaya. Recently R. C. Majumdar (B.E.F.E.O., 1933; J.G.I.S., 1934; *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, Bk. 2, App.) has given good grounds for doubting on the one hand the identity of Śrīvijaya with the kingdom of the Śailendras and the Zabag and San-fo-tsi kingdoms of the Arab and Chinese writers and on the other hand for identifying the last three as synonymous terms and placing them in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. Majumdar's view was substantially accepted by Coëdès (J.G.I.S., 1934). In another respect Coëdès's view has been modified by later research. Referring to the old Malay inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, Vallée Poussin has shown the slight part played therein by Tāntrism and has rehabilitated the evidence of I-tsing about the predominance of the Sarvāstivāda school in the Archipelago.

Sumatra is very poor in archaeological remains so much so that a connected history of its architecture and sculpture cannot be written. Nevertheless important finds of Buddhist sculptures in stone and metal along with other antiquities were made at Palembang after 1920. The Indian affinities of these sculptures were discussed by Bosch (*Archaeological Report*, 1930) and Krom (*A.B.I.A.* 1931) as well as by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (J.G.I.S., III), R. C. Majumdar (J.I.S.O.A.; Vol. 1, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, pp.

322-326 and D. P. Ghosh (*J.G.I.S.*, Vols. I & II). The first systematic excavations were carried out in Sumatra on a number of ancient sites by F. M. Schnitger in 1935 and 1936. The results were recorded by him in a series of well-illustrated monographs (in Dutch) called *Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas (Central Tapanuli)*, *Hindu Antiquities of Batang Hari* and *Archaeological Finds in Palembang* (Leiden 1936). A detailed account of his discoveries in Central, Southern and Western Sumatra with a large number of illustrations was given by the same author in his work *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, (Leiden 1937). This work discloses a wealth of antiquities viz., terracottas, stone and bronze sculptures of superb workmanship representing Śiva and Viṣṇu as well as Buddha, Lokeśvara and Maitreya besides architectural remains of *stūpas* and so forth. The sculptures have been held to belong to Amarāvati, Gupta and Pala styles. Reference is also made to the evidences of Bhairava cult in vogue in the country in the late Hindu times. Some of Schintger's iconographical identifications have since been corrected by J. N. Banerjee in *J.G.I.S.*, (IV, 1937). Quite recently Krom has brought forward in a Dutch paper called *The Sanctuaries of Palembang (Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Deel I, No. 7)* evidence to prove that Palembang was identical with Old Malayu and that the Buddhist sanctuary on its western side reflected the South Indian style, while the Siddhāyātra sanctuary on its eastern side which was Indonesian at first was Hinduised after the 7th century.

MALAY PENINSULA.

The first detailed and authentic account of the Malay Peninsula, the Malayadvīpa and the Kaṭāhadvīpa of the Purāṇas, is given by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D., evidently in the light of the accurate knowledge acquired at that time by the Indians. In the mediaeval period Malay was sometimes included in great empires like those of Śrīvijaya and the Śailendras as well as the Indo-Javanese empire of Majapahit. At other times it was split up into a number of

insignificant kingdoms. But no connected account of the peninsula is traceable from the scanty records. The survival of Hindu rule in different parts of the peninsula (Pahang or Indrapura, Kelantan and Malacca) may be traced to the second decade of the 15th century which ushered in the advent of Islam.

It was nearly a century ago that Lt. Col. James Low carried out some unsystematic excavations in the north-west part of British Malay forming Province Wellesley and the Kedah State. He discovered a set of twelve Sanskrit inscriptions which were published by J. W. Laidlay (*J.A.S.B.*, 1848-1849) in a very imperfect fashion. These inscriptions have since been edited by competent scholars like Kern (*V.G.*, III) and B. Ch. Chhabra (*J.A.S.B.*, *Letters*, 1935). They prove that colonists from Northern and Southern India were settled on the west coast of Malay by the 4th or 5th centuries A.D. and that they followed the Buddhist religion. Four of these inscriptions refer to a great sailor Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā (identified with Rāṅgāmāṭi in modern Murshidabad district of Bengal). Another group of Sanskrit inscriptions of the same early period discovered at Ligor, Takuapa and Caiya in North Malay was published with facsimile in the *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine* (1910), but they still remain un-edited. The opening up of the States of Kedah and Perak to rubber plantation and tin mining in quite recent times has brought to light a number of antiquities which were described by Ivor H. N. Evans Ethnographer to the Perak Museum (*Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, Cambridge 1927). They show that the Kedah region was occupied by Indian colonists professing Śaivism as well as Buddhism during the 4th-5th centuries A.D. According to the same evidence an Indian colony was settled at Perak by the 5th century A.D. Among the objects discovered by Evans was a seal from Perak with the legend *Śrī Viṣṇuvarmmanah* written in incorrect Sanskrit in Pallava Grantha characters [For discussion of this seal, see B. Ch. Chhabra, *J.G.I.S.*, II, 1935 giving full

references]. Unfortunately no law was passed for the protection of ancient monuments, as had been done in India and Indonesia. "Hence sites of the utmost importance must have been destroyed by mining operations in Perak, while in Kedah many promising mounds were demolished to provide road material or merely levelled down as being useless obstructions" (Quaritch Wales, *A.B.I.A.*, 1937, p. 38). However that may be, chance finds have been made recently from the tin mines at Perak, of three bronze Avalokiteśvara images in addition to those brought to light by Evans [For a description of the whole group with full references and some illustrations, see H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian colonization in J.R.A.S., M.B.*, XVIII, Part I, February 1940.] The first systematic archaeological exploration of British Malay was undertaken by H. G. Quaritch Wales under the auspices of the Greater India Research Committee in London and with the generous support of the Malay States concerned. Following closely upon his first two archaeological expeditions to Siamese territory (to which reference has been made above), Wales led his third expedition (1937-39) into the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore. The valuable results of this expedition were published in a special number (Vol. XVIII. Pt. I, 1940) of the *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Among the objects brought to light by the explorer may be mentioned basements of *stūpas* containing Sanskrit inscriptions in South Indian characters of the 4th-6th centuries mentioning the Buddhist creed and Mahāyāna Buddhist verses, the remains of Brahmanical temples of the 7th-8th centuries with fragments of Śivite images, and lastly, gold and silver discs with names of Bodhisattvas inscribed in Sanskrit in South Indian characters of the 9th century. Deriving his historical conclusions from the above data, the author postulated four successive waves of Hindu colonisation from the 1st century to c. 900 A.D. Again, while finding further support for his view that the Śailendra empire had its head-quarters in the Malay Peninsula, he was led to locate Kaṭṭāram, the capital

of the Śailendras, in the Kinta valley in Perak, in modification of his previous hypothesis (strongly criticised by Coëdés, *J.R.A.S.M.B.*, XIV, 1936), identifying the same with Caiya and Ligor. He also attempted the reconstruction of the later history of Kedah (from the close of the 13th century to the conversion to Islam in 1474 A.D.) by means of a critical analysis of the Kedah Annals. One of the kings mentioned in these Annals, Raja Bersiong, according to him, was not only a historical personage but was addicted to the Bhairava cult of which the popularity is proved by the famous Bhairava statue representing the Sumatran King Ādityavarman in the 13th century.

As regards general history of the Malay Peninsula, the invaluable Chinese texts referring to the kingdoms of the Southern Seas in the early centuries of the Christian era have been studied and discussed by a number of scholars such as Groeneveldt, Schlegel, Pelliot and Ferrand ever since the seventh decade of the last century. But unfortunately the identifications of most of these kingdoms still remain matters of dispute. Provisionally, however, we may take these accounts to mean that a certain number of Hindu kingdoms existed in Malay in the 5th-6th centuries. Such are "Lang-yu-su" (Isthmus of Kra or of Ligor) "where the precious Sanskrit was generally known," Kan-to-li (Kadāra?) where Buddhism was held in the highest veneration and Karmaranga or Charmaranga (Ligor) mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and other Indian works. Regarding the later history of Malay we have already referred to the brilliant paper of Coëdés on *The Kingdom of Śrīvijaya* (*B.E.F. E.O.*, 1918) pointing to a great Sumatran empire having its capital at Palembang and including within its limits Malay and Java in the late 8th century. We have also noticed that R. C. Majumdar has on good grounds called in question Coëdés's identification of the Śrīvijaya kingdom with the Śailendra empire and placed the seat of the latter in North Malay. In this connection Majumdar stated that the Śailendras were probably immigrants from Kalinga who spread their sway over the Far East by way of Lower Burma

and Malay. On the other hand Coëdés (*J.G.I.S.*, I, 1934) has suggested that the Śailendras were originally related to the kings of Fu-nan and after their expulsion from Indo-China resumed the old dynastic title and reasserted the old political and territorial claims. Other views have been put forward by Przyluski (*J.G.I.S.*, I) and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*T.B.G.*, LXXV). As for the last phase of Hindu rule in Malay, not to speak of the Chinese texts studied and discussed by Groeneveldt and Schlegel, we may mention the indigenous traditions collected from the Malay chronicles and the early Portuguese accounts by Ferrand (*J.A.*, 1918). In *J.R.A.S.M.B.*, 1935, R. O. Winstedt published a connected history of Malay from the earliest times to the 19th century. It contains a chapter on the Hindu period based on the researches of Coëdés and Krom. Recently R. C. Majumdar has given (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Parts I & II) a complete account of the history and culture of Malay from the earliest times to the end of Hindu rule in the peninsula. Based on the researches of previous scholars, it attempts the solution of many of the unsolved problems of Ancient Malayan history.

CEYLON

The island of Ceylon, the Sihaladvīpa of the Pāli Chronicles, was converted to Buddhism by Asoka's missionaries during the reign of its King Devānāmpiya Tissa. Under this pious king and his equally pious successors like Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, (101-77 B.C.) Waṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (c. 100-76 B.C.) and Mahāsena (277-304 A.D.), Anurādhapura, the Ceylonese capital and a "veritable Buddhist Rome," was adorned with magnificent structures like the Thupārāma *dāgaba*, the Jetavana *vihāra* (which is the largest of its kind even in Ceylon and stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent), and the Lohapāsāda or the "Brazen Tower" (originally constructed as a monastery of nine stories of which the still existing foundations comprise 1600 monoliths 12' high and extend over an area of 250 square miles). Taken and plundered by the Pāṇḍyas, Anurādhapura was abandoned for Polonnaruwa (otherwise called Kalingapura

or Pulastipura) which remained the Ceylonese capital from the 9th to the middle of the 13th century. Among its splendid monuments are the Thupārāma, the "Northern" temple adorned with frescoes and the Jetavana monastery with Lankātilaka "the largest Buddhist temple in Ceylon," all of which are attributed to the greatest of the Sinhalese kings, Parakkamabāhu I (1164-97 A.D.).

The beginnings of the scientific study of Sinhalese archaeology can be traced back to the seventies of the last century, when the first Archaeological Commissioner was appointed in the person of P. Goldschmid who has been called "the founder of Ceylonese epigraphy." To the same period goes back the foundation of the Colombo Museum through the enlightened efforts of Sir William Gregory, Governor of Ceylon (1872-77 A.D.). At the same time T. W. Rhys Davids published the first connected account of Sinhalese coinage (*Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877). To Edward Müller, Goldschmid's successor as Archaeological Commissioner, belongs the credit of issuing the first corpus of Sinhalese inscriptions (*Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon collected and published for Government by Dr. Edward Müller*, 2 vols., London 1883). To this period also belongs the foundation (1882) by T. W. Rhys Davids of the renowned *Pāli Text Society*, which has since earned the gratitude of all lovers of Indian culture by its magnificent series of publications of Pāli canonical as well as non-canonical texts with a large number of translations. What high regard was entertained towards these texts by the promoters of the Society will best appear from the following extract quoted from their prospectus:—"For the period c. 400-250 B.C. they have preserved for us a record quite uncontaminated by filtrations through any European mind of the everyday beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stage of civilisation. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves and which has influenced so powerfully and for so long a time so large a portion of the

human race — the system of religion which we now called Buddhism." In the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the present, important steps were taken towards the advance of Sinhalese archaeological studies. The *Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* commenced the issue of its *Journal* from the close of the last century. A valuable set of drawings of archaeological remains in Anurādhapura prepared by J. G. Smither as far back as 1877 was published by order of the Government of Ceylon in 1894. The *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* was founded in 1890, and H. C. P. Bell distinguished his long term of office (1890-1912) as Archaeological Commissioner by practically exhuming the dead city of Anurādhapura, by clearing and restoring the fortress-city of Sigiriya and by excavating the main group of buildings of Parakkamabāhu's palace at Polonnaruwa. Among the notable buildings described and illustrated by him in his valuable series of *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* may be mentioned the Śiva shrine at Polonnaruwa built in the 11th or 12th century, as well as the circular shrine and the seven-storied tower built at the same city by King Nissanka Malla in the 12th century. The second of these structures was described by him as 'the most beautiful specimen of Buddhist stone architecture existing in Ceylon.' Meanwhile Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe appointed Epigraphist to the Ceylonese Government in 1899, published the first volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (1904-1912) containing the texts and translations of a large number of new inscriptions. In the following years Vol. II, 1912-28 and Vol. III, Part I, (1928) of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* were published by the same scholar. In the former volume is included a valuable *Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings* from Vijaya (483-445 B.C.) down to Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha (1798-1815 A.C.). In 1909 H. Parker, who had served for thirty-one years in the Irrigation Department of Ceylon, published his important work *Ancient Ceylon* giving minute accounts of the lost cities of Ceylon as well as the ancient *dāgabās*, inscriptions and coins and the earliest irrigation-works. The interpreta-

tion of Sinhalese art was furthered by the valuable writings of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (London 1908), *Mahāyānist Buddhist images from Ceylon and Java* (J.R.A.S., 1909), *Bronzes of Ceylon* (*Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*, Vol. I, Colombo 1914). To the same scholar belongs the credit of identifying (*Spolia Zeylanica*, VI, 1909) the wonderful seated figure of the Isurumuniya Vihāra at Anurādhapura with the sage Kapila well-known to Indian legend as the consumer of King Sagara's sons.

During the last twenty years the study of Sinhalese art and archaeology has made steady progress. In the third decade of this century A. M. Hocart as Archaeological Commissioner published the results of his archaeological exploration and research in successive *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. He also edited three volumes of *Memoirs of this Survey* of which the first (Colombo 1924) dealt with the monuments of Anurādhapura, the second (Colombo 1926) principally with those of Polonnaruwa and the third (London 1931) with the temple of the Tooth in Kandy. As editor of the *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G. Archaeology, Ethnology, etc.*, (Vol. I, 1924-28, Vol. II, 1928-33) he published numerous notes on the art and archaeology, not only of Ceylon but also of India proper. Of special interest are his attempts to trace the obscure history of Sinhalese sculpture and architecture according to types and to estimate the extent of Indian influence upon the same. For the recent advance in Sinhalese archaeology the credit is mostly due to S. Paranavitana, Epigraphic Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner. In 1934 and 1935 he excavated the remains of a *stūpa* (which he identified as the Kaṇṭaka Chetiya of ante 1st century B.C.) at Mihintale. It ranks among the earliest *stūpas* in the island, and its sculptures are counted among the earliest remains of Sinhalese plastic art. Its well preserved basement had four projections at the cardinal points reminiscent of the type of the Andhra monuments of the Kṛṣṇā valley, which were adorned with fine friezes of Hamsas and Gaṇas and were flanked by sculptured stelae surmounted by figures of

elephants, lions, bulls and horses. (See Paranavitana, *Excavation of the Kaṇṭaka Chetiya at Mihintale*, A.B.I.A., 1934). A detailed account of the archaeological excavations carried out at Anurādhapura during the years 1928-29 and 1932-33 was given by the same scholar in his monograph *The Excavations in the Citadel of Anurādhapura (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. IV, Colombo 1936)*. Among the buildings exposed during these excavations was a unique structure of the 8th century A.D. having a square plan and a projection from the middle of each face, of which the prototype has since been sought (S. K. Saraswati in *J.G.I.S.*, IV) in East Indian temples. To the *Ceylon Journal of Science, Sec. G, Vol. II*, Paranavitana contributed a valuable *Archaeological Summary* showing that the earliest *stūpas* of Ceylon followed the Indian model consisting of the *harmmikā* and above it an umbrella or series of umbrellas in stone supported by stone posts, but that about the fifth century A.D. there was developed the cylindrical structure above the *harmmikā* and above that again the tapering spire which was nothing but the old *chhatrāvali* with the space between the umbrellas filled with brick-work. To the same *Journal* he contributed a valuable paper on *Mahāyānism in Ceylon* proving from archaeological and literary evidence the prevalence (from the 3rd to the 15th centuries) of various forms of Mahāyāna (including the Tāntrik Vajrayāna) and tracing the survival of Mahāyāna in Ceylonese Buddhism at the present day. As editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, Pts. 2-6 (1929-33) onwards Paranavitana has published numerous inscriptions ranging from the pre-Christian to late mediaeval times. Among these are a large number of 'cave-inscriptions' written in Indian Prakrit and in Brāhmī script mentioning the names of donors of caves to the Buddhist *saṃgha* (See Paranavitana, *Brāhmī inscriptions recently discovered in Ceylon*, A.B.I.A., 1934 and *Epigraphical discoveries in Ceylon during the year 1935*, A.B.I.A., 1935). Some of these donors have been identified with the Ceylonese kings of the 1st century before and after Christ mentioned in the chronicles. A set of 91

Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on copper-plaques and containing fragments of the *Pañchavimśatisāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā* was brought to light by the same scholar from the ruins of a *stūpa* (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol.III). Another scholar who deserves mention in this connection is H. W. Codrington. Besides contributing important papers on the archaeology of Ceylon, he published a comprehensive account of Sinhalese coinage from the earliest to the recent times in his standard work called *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, (Colombo 1924).

As regards the branch of Ceylonese art, A. K. Coomaraswamy in his comprehensive work, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), traced for the first time in broad outline the development of Sinhalese art through the 'classical' (*ante* 8th century), the 'mediaeval' (9th-14th centuries) and the 'late mediaeval' (15th century-1815 A.D.) periods. In Vincent A. Smith's work *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (2nd edition, Oxford, 1930) the main types of Sinhalese architecture and sculpture have been sought to be distinguished and interesting comparisons have been made with the Indian types. In his paper (in French) called *Pala and Sena Art in Outer India (Études d'Orientalisme Linossier*, pp. 277-285). René Grousset has traced the influence of Pala and Sena art upon the sculptures of Ceylon. A number of art objects—bas-reliefs, sculptures in the round and architectural fragments—found at Anurādhapura, Polonnaruwa, Sigiriya and other sites during recent times have been proved by S. Paranavitana (*Examples of Andhra Art recently found in Ceylon, A.B.I.A.*, 1936) to be products of the Andhra schools of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā.

Lastly, as regards the general history of Ceylon and the history of Ceylonese culture, we may begin by mentioning H. W. Codrington's work *A Short History of Ceylon*, (London 1926) which traces the history of the island from the earliest times to 1833 A.D. It has a prefatory note on the chronology of Ceylon and a list of its sovereigns and it concludes with a chapter on archaeology from the pen of A. M.

Hocart. More recently G. C. Mendis has published *The Early History of Ceylon* (4th ed. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta, 1940) giving within a short compass the political as well as cultural history of the island from the earliest times to the close of the 15th century. Coming to another point, we may mention that the relations of the Imperial Cholas with Ceylon have been fully studied by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*The Cholas*, Vol. I, Madras, 1935) in the light of Tamil as well as Sinhalese documents. The old Sinhalese revenue system has been described by H. W. Codrington in his work *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon* (Colombo 1938). Above all, W. Geiger in a series of papers called *Contributions from the Mahāvarāṇsa to our knowledge of the mediaeval culture of Ceylon* (*J.G.I.S.*, vol. II, No. 2; vol. III, No. 2; vol. IV, No. 2; vol. V, Nos. 1-2, July 1935-July 1938) has utilised the important data from the great Sinhalese Chronicle to illustrate fully the nature of kingship, administration and social life in the island down to mediaeval times.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 1. last line: After 'archaeologists' add:

'At the site of Balkh, 'Mother of Cities' and capital of ancient Bactria, A. Foucher carried out (1923-25) a number of prolonged excavations, of which a detailed report is expected to be published in Tome I of the *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan*. Foucher's general conclusions are summed up in his short work *Étude sur l'art bouddhique de l'Inde* (Maison franco-japonaise, Tokyo)'.

P. 3. line 22: After 'Sarvāstivādins' add:

'About this time J. Hackin published a summary of explorations of the School in French under the title *The Work of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (1922-32)*, Paris, 1933'.

P. 4. line 14: After 'January and July 1940' add:

'In 1936 chance excavations brought to light at Kunduz seven stucco heads (being the first Buddhist sculptures found so far to the north of the Hindu-kush) as well as the remains of a Buddhist apsidal monastery. The stucco fragments have been dated on stylistic grounds between the first century B.C. and the first century A. D. by J. Hackin (*L'art Greco-bouddhique de la Bactriane*, Kabul, 1937). In the summer of 1938 a British expedition led by Evert Barger excavated a number of sites in the Swat Valley and carried out an archaeological reconnaissance in Northern Afghanistan. The detailed report of the expedition has been published under the title *Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus territories of Afghanistan* by Evert Barger and Philip Wright (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 64, Delhi, 1941)'.

'In his work *The Wall-paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon. A Comparative Study: With an Introductory Essay on the Nature of Buddhist Art* by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Boston 1938 the author has characterized the paintings in the vault of the 115-foot Buddha niche at Bamiyan as belonging to the Sassanian style. By contrast the niche of the other colossal Buddha and its groups of smaller caves display the Indian style. The decorative scheme in the vault, according to the same author, was a gigantic Buddha now effaced, surrounded by a host of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Apsarases'.

P. 6. line 25: *After 'ancient city' add:*

'which show the Hellenistic Gandhāra art to be yielding to Sassanian and East Indian influences'

P. 6. line 32: *For 'three' read 'five'.*

P. 7. line 23: *After 'forth' add:*

'From Karakhoto (The Black city) forming part of the ancient Tangut (Hsi-hsia) kingdom Stein acquired a mass of wooden sculptures illustrating Jātaka scenes as well as figures of enthroned Buddhas, of Buddhist scenes and of Brahmanical deities mounted upon their *Vāhanas*.'

P. 8. line 11: *After 'Indian script' add:*

'The results of Hackin's explorations on the site of Bazaklik already visited by Grünwedel were recorded in his work *Recherches archéologiques en Asie centrale* (Paris, 1931) where he mentioned Buddhist sanctuaries with *maṇḍalas* or apparitions of Tāntrik divinities'.

P. 10. line 12: *After 'Buddhist Paradise' add:*

'The Japanese scholar Eiichi Matsumoto identified (*Bukkyo Bijutsu*, No. 19, Tokyo, 1933) a number of such paintings from the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* as representing the defeat of the Brahman Rāudrākṣa by Śāriputra in a contest of supernatural

powers, while another painting from Tun-huang was identified by him (*Kokka*, No. 515, Tokyo, 1933) as referring to the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. A number of mural or silk paintings from Tun-huang and Turfan representing the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguruvaśīṣa-prabhāsa was afterwards identified and explained by the same scholar (*Kokka*, No. 523, 1934). The mural and other Buddhist paintings as well as the Buddhist images from the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* have since been thoroughly examined by him in a Japanese work bearing the title *Studies in the Paintings of Tun-huang*, 2 vols., Tokyo 1937(?)

P. 12. line 11: For *Keinere* read *Kleinere*.

P. 12. line 26: After 'Central Asian Sanskrit canon' add:
'Mention may be made in this connection of Helmuth Hoffmann's edition of the fragments of the *Ātānāṭika Sūtra* from the Central Asian Sanskrit Canon in the same series, *Kleinere Sanskrit Texte*, heft v, Leipzig 1939'.

P. 13. line 26: After *Dhammapada* add:

'To T. Burrow we are also indebted for the publication (*Further Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Niya*, BSOS. IX) of the text and translation of 18 tablets of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Stein in his last Central Asian expedition in 1930'.

P. 14. line 23: After 'Tocharian language' add:

'Meanwhile E. Leumann published (Strassburg 1919) the Tocharian text (with a German translation) of the *Maitreyasamiti* of the poet Āryacandra'.

P. 15. line 18: After *Heidelberg 1928* add:

'The revised readings of some of these fragments along with the readings of certain new fragments of Soghdian Manuscripts were published by E. Benveniste (*Notes Sogdiennes*, BSOS. IX)'.

P. 15. line 24: For 'Eassai' read 'Essai'.

Ibid., line 26: After 'E. Benveniste (Paris 1929)' add:

'The facsimilies of Soghdian manuscripts preserved

in the Bibliothèque Nationale have been published by Benveniste under the title '*Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Minoris*, vol. III, *Codices Sogdiani* (Copenhagen 1940)'.

P. 16. lines 1-8: For 'A complete poem in Khotanese Śaka ...Vijaya Śūra read the following:

'The longest literary work in Khotanese Śaka, consisting of an epic in 25 chapters relating to the legend of the future saviour Maitreya and derived entirely from Indian inspiration, was edited with a German translation by E. Leumann and published (1933-34) after his death by Manu Leumann. It bears (in German) the title *The North Aryan (Sakish) doctrinal poem of Buddhism*. A series of studies of Khotanese texts in the collection of the British Museum and of the India Office has been recently published by H. W. Bailey under the title *Hvatanica* (BSOS. VIII—X). Among the most interesting of these texts are a fragment of a Khotanese translation of the *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta (BSOS. VIII), a Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual text (*Ibid.* IX) and a number of texts referring to gods and goddesses (largely of Indian origin) that were worshipped in ancient Khotan (*Ibid.* X). In BSOS. VIII, H. W. Bailey and E. W. Johnston jointly edited a fragment of the *Uttaratantra* (a fundamental work of Northern Buddhism) with Khotanese Śaka annotations. To H. W. Bailey we owe the publication of the text and translation of the Khotanese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (BSOS., X. Parts 2 & 3). He has also edited (BSOS. IX) the supposed Sanskrit original of the Khotanese *Jātakastava* of Jñānayaśas. This work, which is preserved in the Tohoku Catalogue of the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Bstan-hgyur, consists of the Sanskrit text written in Tibetan script with inter-linear Tibetan gloss'.

P. 16. line 22: After S. P. A. W. 1931 add:

'Mention may be made in this connection of the important paper (in German) of H. Stönnner on *The Central Asian Sanskrit Texts in Brāhmī Script*. (SKPAW., XLIV. 1904). A Turkish fragment in Brāhmī was afterwards published along with a glossary of Turkish words by H. W. Bailey (BSOS. IX)'.

P. 17. line 8: *After* 'surprisingly' *add*.

'The Tibetan fragments of the Rāma story have since been investigated by M. Lalou (*J. A.*, 1936)'.

P. 17. line 34: *After* Peiping 1930-31 *add*:

'A brief but useful, survey of Indian cultural influences in Central Asia, Tibet, China, Further India and Malayasia has since been given by F. W. Thomas in his *Calcutta University Lectures* under the title *Indianism and its Expansion*, Calcutta 1942. In the course of this work the author pays a well-deserved tribute to the work of Japanese scholars, of whom he says (*op. cit.* p. 96):—'In the study of ancient Indian originals no other country has produced scholars combining to the same extent a facility in dealing with the sources and the painstaking scholarly method'.

P. 18. line 26: *For* K'ang-shi' *read* K'ang-hsi'.

P. 18. line 38: *Omit* Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, ed. Rahula Sankrityāyana, JBORS (1938-39).

P. 19. line 9: *Omit* by Vallée Poussin and

P. 19. line 12: *After* Calcutta 1931 *add*:

'The authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa* is still disputed between Dinnāga and his pupil Śaṅkarasvāmin. For a good summary of this discussion see the *Introduction*, pp. vi-xiii to the *Nyāyapraveśa*, Pt. I, Sanskrit text with commentaries critically edited by A. B. Dhruva (GQS. No. XXXVIII, Baroda, 1930). The author's tentative conclusion is that 'the *Nyāyapraveśa* is a work composed by Śaṅkarasvāmin to facilitate entrance

into the *Nyāyadvāra* ('the Gate of Logic') which is a work of his master Dinnāga'. *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Dinnāga has recently been edited in its restored Sanskrit form with an accompanying English translation and copious extracts from Dharmapāla's commentary by N. Aiyaswami Sastri. (Adyar Library, Madras 1942). To this list we have to add the publication of the text and translation (in German) of *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* by Freiderich Weller, Leipzig 1926. This work consists of two parts, Part I, containing the text and translation of cantos 1-8 and Part II those of cantos 9-17.'

P. 19 line 25: *After Part II, 1932, add:*

'Some valuable hints for the collection of materials for a Tibetan bibliography are given by Andrew Vostrikov in his paper, *Some corrections and critical remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet* (BSOS., VIII, Pt. 1, 1935).'

P. 19 line 32: *After Hanoi 1935 add:*

'A classified and illustrated catalogue of the Loo Collection of Tibetan Paintings prepared by Mlle. Raymonde Linossier was published under the title *Les peintures tibétaines de la collection Loo* in the *Études d'Orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la Mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932.'

P. 21 line 12: *After temples add:*

'Of great historical, aesthetic as well as iconographical interest are the frescoes of *tāntric* deities executed by Indian artists c. 1000 A. D., which adorn the walls of some of these temples.'

P. 21 line 28: *After Tibetan Libraries add:*

'The Bihar & Orissa Research Society has since published a series of works under the title *Sanskrit Texts from Tibet*. Among these we may specially mention the *Adhyardhaśataka* ['Hymn of one hundred

and fifty (verses)] by Mātṛceta, edited with preface and two appendices by Rahula Sankṛityayana. This edition is based upon Sanskrit texts recovered by the author from Tibetan monastic libraries as well as the Tibetan and Chinese versions and Hoernle's edition of the Central Asian Manuscript Fragments in the work *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*. Another notable work of the same series is the *Pramāṇavārttika* by Dharmakīrti which is a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dinnāga, 'the father of Indian Mediaeval logic'.

P. 21. line 35: For Asia Major VIII read 1929, Verlag der Asia Major.

P. 26. line 8: For ASI 1915 read ASI 1915-16.

P. 31. line 14: For Vajirañāna read Vajirañāṇa.

P. 32. line 18: Omit and so forth.

P. 33. line 16: For 1930 read 1937.

P. 34. line 24: For U'kcng read U'tong.

P. 35. line 25: After Gupta School add:

'The reference is to Cœdès' paper *Note sur les quelques sculptures provenant de Srideb (Siam) in Études d'Orientalisme Linossier.*'

P. 39. line 24: After regions add:

'An index of Aymonier's great work was published by George Cœdès in *BCAI.*, 1911.'

P. 40. line 3: Add a new paragraph.

'We may refer in the present place to the activities of the Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-chine attached to the archaeological section of the *Comité des travaux historiques, et scientifiques*, which was established by a decree of the Minister of Public Instruction in 1908. It started in the same year an important *Bulletin* to receive and examine all communications relating to the conservation of archaeological monuments in Indo-China. In actual practice the activities of the school extended far beyond its narrow

programme. The successive numbers of its *Bulletin* contained inventories of Indo-Chinese sculptures existing in public and private collections within and outside France, such as the *Catalogue des pieces originales de sculpture khmère conservees au Musée indo-chinois du Trocadero et au Musée Guimet* by George Coédès (BCAI., 1910), and the *Catalogue des sculptures Cames et Khmeres du Musée royal d'ethnographie à Berlin* by H. Stönnner (BCAI., 1912). Among other topics treated in the *Bulletin* were various questions of Indo-Chinese archaeology and epigraphy. Such were *Les bas reliefs de Baphuon* by Louis Finot (BCAI., 1910), *Les bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat* by George Coédès (BCAI., 1911) and *Les inscriptions du Bayon* by George Coédès, (BCAI., 1913). In the same Journal (BCAI., 1911) Coédès published his *Index Alphabetique pour le Cambodge de M. Aymonier*. The Commission finally published a number of monographs such as *Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom, Bas-reliefs publiés par les soins de la commission Archéologique de l'Indo-chine*, (2 vols. Paris, 1910-13) and *Les Monuments du Cambodge, Étude d'architecture khmère publiés par L. Delaporte*, fasc. 1, 1914, fasc. 2, 1920, fasc. 3'.

P. 42. line 34: After Dharanindravarman II add:

'See Coédès, *Journal Asiatique*, 1920, p. 96'.

P. 44. line 4: After Buddha add:

'A statue of Vajradhara at Bantei Chmar has been since identified by Goloubew (*JISOA.*, vol. V, 1937) as a portrait of Jayavarman VII, 'the living Buddha'.

P. 45. line 12: For 1921-24 read 1921-26.

P. 47. line 27: After has held add: (*IAL.*, 1937).

P. 47. line 34: After the same scholar add: *loc. cit.*

P. 48. line 7: After monuments add:

'In the branch of Cambodian iconography we may mention the comprehensive paper (in French) by Louis Finot called *Lokēśvara en Indo-chine* (*Études*

Asiatiques I). Some supplementary notes have been added by U. N. Ghoshal, *Note on a type of Lokeśvara in Cambodge*, (JGIS., V. January, 1938), *Some Indian Parallels of Lokeśvara types in Indo-China*, (*Ibid.*, July, 1938). The iconography of the Khmer 'Crowned Buddha' has been discussed by P. Mus (BEFEO., XXVIII), while Bosch has contributed (BEFEO., XXXI) a valuable monograph (in French) on *The Liṅgodbhavamūrti of Śiva in Indo-China*.

P. 48. line 24: After 'civilization' add:

'In BEFEO. 1929, Coedès has furnished new data bearing on the chronology and genealogy of the dynasty of kings from Jayavarman VI to Jayavarman VII'.

P. 48. line 36: After Laos add:

'started respectively in 1925 and 1915'.

P. 49. line 2: For students read studies. Add:

'Mention may be made in this connection of the various publications in which the French School has sought from time to time to communicate its activities. In 1917 Émile Senart presented his report on the activities of the School to the famous *Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres* in Paris. His example was followed successively by H. Cordier who submitted two *Reports* covering the period from 1918 to 1920, by L. Finot who presented his *Report* for the years 1920 to 1926 and by A. Foucher who did the same for the period 1926 to 1930. Meanwhile Finot published (BEFEO., 1921) a complete summary of the activities of the School from its origin to 1920. The school, which celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary by publishing two volumes of *Études Asiatiques* in 1925, started a quarterly series of chronicles (*Cahiers*) in 1934'.

P. 51 line 8: For vol. VIII read vol. VII.

P. 52 line 2: After 'so forth' add:

'It was followed by another volume containing the plates and albums.'

P. 52. line 15: For BEFEO., XXXII, read BEFEO., XXXI.

P. 56. line 7: For Caṇḍi read Chaṇḍi.

P. 58. lines 23-26: For on the site of.....inscription read.
'These were noticed in the *Oudheid-kundig Verslag*, (1937), while a popular account was given by A. J. Bernet-Kempers in *ABIA.*, XII, pp. 51-53.

P. 53. lines 34-35: For These have been.....beliefs read.
'These remains were reported in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1936, while a popular account was published by W. F. Stutterheim in *ABIA.*, XI, pp. 25-30'.

P. 63. line 32: After Batavia-Leiden 1925 add:

In his paper *The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia* (BSOS., IV) the same scholar has compared parallel versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indo-China (Ramakien in Siam, Hikajat Seri Ramā in Malay, Serat Rama in Java and Madura, *Rāmāyaṇa* in Bali) with one another and with the Indian versions'.

P. 66. line 15: After *B.K.I.*, vol. XC. add:

'In her learned work *Ganesa. A monography on the elephant-faced god. With an introduction by Alfred Foucher*. Oxford, 1936. Alice Getty described the well-known Javanese images of Ganesa along with the Buddhist Ganesas of Endere and Tun Huang in Central Asia and the Ganesas of Cambodia and Champa'.

P. 73. line. 1: After *JGIS.*, vol. II, add:

According to R. Heine-Geldern (*Archaeology and Art in Sumatra*), Gupta, South Indian and Javanese influences affected the Sumatran art prior to and during the Śrīvijaya period, but these could not efface the indigenous style'.

P. 73. line 28: After the 7th century add:

'We may refer lastly to the work of J. Tideman (*Hindoe-invloed in Noorde-lijk Batakland*, Amsterdam, 1936) describing Hindu-Javanese and South-Indian influences upon Batak culture'.

P. 79. line 1: For called read call.

APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE TEXT

- A. B. I. A. :* *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*,
Leyden.
- A. K. M. :* *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgen-
landes.*
- Ann. Rep.*
A. S. I. : *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey
of India*, Delhi.
- B. C. A. I. :* *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique
de l'Indo-chine*, Paris.
- B. E. F. E. O. :* *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême
Orient*, Hanoi.
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kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven
door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-,
Land— en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-
Indië, The Hague.
- B. S. O. S. :* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*,
London.
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- J. A. O. S. :* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,
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Calcutta.
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Society*, Patna.
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Britain and Ireland*, London.
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Ak. van Wet: *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde.*
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nachdrücklich darauf hinzuweisen, wo die Literaturangaben nicht ausreichen, um weitergehende Schlüsse darauf zu bauen. Im besonderen möchte ich auf das Kapitel 'Summary and Conclusion' in den "Contributions" p. 271 ff. hinweisen, wo die herrschenden Tendenzen in der Entwicklung des indischen Finanzwesens klar herausgehoben sind und auf die Analogien im Wirtschaftsleben anderer Völker auch aus neuer Zeit hingewiesen wird. Sehr dankenswert ist auch das den "Contributions" beigefügte Glossar der "fiscal terms." Ich meine, nicht nur wir Indianisten, auch die Volkswirtschaftler, die auf die Geschichte und ihre Lehren achten, werden aus dem Studium von Ghoshal's Schriften reichen Nutzen ziehen."

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the exaggeration, even by Vincent Smith, of the demands of Hindu kings, and it is quite fair to stress the constitutional theory (p. 18) that taxes were the royal reward for protection as affording a measure of security to the subject against excessive expenditure. But unfortunately the law recognized equally an unlimited power in the king in time of stress to levy taxation at pleasure (p. 134), and the king was after all the final judge of when stress existed, a position for which the English Crown lawyer successfully contended in the case of ship-money. Curiously enough only in the late Śukranīti do we find recorded the system of compulsory loans familiar in Tudor and Stuart history. The English Danegeld supports the theory that the Turuṣkadaṇḍa of the Gaharwar dynasty (pp. 262-263) was a tax imposed to meet the cost of resistance to Turkish invasion rather than a tax imposed on Moslem settlers. It is probable that the author is right in his view (p. 287) that the Moslems in great measure merely adapted Hindu methods rather than attempted to impose their own fiscal system; absence in mediæval India of such distinctive features as the difference between 'tribute-land' and 'tithe-land' certainly supports this view. The present system also has inherited much from Hindu practice, a fact which adds greatly to the interest of the book."

Hindustan Review:—"Dr. U. N. Ghoshal Professor of History in the Presidency College, Calcutta, has already made his mark by the publication of his books called *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, and *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan*. His latest work, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, is marked by the scholarship of high order which characterized his earlier treatises. In it the learned author sets forth a fairly comprehensive account, in their chronological sequence, of the origin and development of the ancient Indian revenue system, borne out and deducible from a critical study of the relevant data on the subject. The result is a learned, luminous and instructive volume, which throws a flood of light on the economic con-

ditions of ancient India and which will be invaluable to the students of Indian economics. Some of the many interesting subjects dealt with in the course of this truly masterly survey of a rather abstruse subject are the sources of revenue (land assessments, tolls, transit duties, customs etc.), classes exempted from taxation, revenue administration, branches of state expenditure and, last but not least, a historical sketch of the revenue system of Upper India from 300 B.C. to 1200 A. D. The scope of the work is thus almost exhaustive, the treatment of the subject scholarly, and the book, as a whole, highly meritorious."

III. Agrarian System in Ancient India

(Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1930.)

Published by the Calcutta University, 1930

Prof. A.B.Keith:—"It is an excellent work manifesting once more the author's wide reading and knowledge of things both Indian and of the world beyond, and his power of drawing sound and illuminating conclusions from evidence carefully collected, carefully sifted, and effectively adduced. It forms a notable and welcome addition to our knowledge."

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IV. Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan

(Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta 1921).

The Modern Review, Calcutta :—"The book.....gives for the first time a faithful résumé of the latest discoveries in the field made by the French and German Scholars."

V. The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Papers. (*In the Press*).

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